

THE ORIYA MOVEMENT

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The Oriya Movement

BEING A DEMAND FOR A UNITED ORISSA



BY
TWO BACHELORS OF ARTS

Published by
H. H. PANDA, B.A.,
Secretary, Oriya Samaj Ganjam, Aska.

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To
Young Orissa

However fallen a nation may be, if it clings closely to its language, it holds the key of its prison—*Daudet.*

CONTENTS

	Page.
Publisher's Note	ix
Authors' Preface	xi
Introduction	1
History of the Movement	21
CHAPTER I. Boundaries of the Oriya Country, Ancient and Modern	65
" II. Descriptive Account of Orissa—Political	73
" III. History of the Territorial Vivisection of Orissa	82
" IV. Evils of Orissan Dismemberment	94
" V. Reunion, a Necessity—Arguments : A.—From the Standpoint of a Federal India	99
B.—From the Point of View of National Interests— (i)—Language and Literature	102
(ii)—Social Life	113
(iii)—Economic Grounds	121
(iv)—Educational Disadvantages	129
(v)—Difficulties in Administration	134
" VI. Geographical Unity of the Oriya Country	141
" VII. Allied Movements and their Relation to the Oriya Problem	147
" VIII. ✓ The Genius of the People as Reflected in their Art and Literature	153
" IX. The Proposed Scheme	164
" X. The Proposed Form of Administration	169
" XI. Financial Self-Sufficiency of the Future Province of Orissa	173

	Page.
.. XII. The Feudatory States of Orissa	191
.. XIII. A Separate University for Orissa	212
.. XIV. A High Court for Orissa : How far necessary?	232
.. XV. The Standing Economic Evils	241
.. XVI. Industries and their Development	251
APPENDIX A. Linguistic Delimitation of the Indian Provinces	277
.. B. Gazetteer of the Oriya Tracts	280
.. C. Census Errors	295
.. D. The Address of the Utkal Union Conference to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu—the Memorial	298
.. E. (i)—The Memorandum of the Utkal Union Conference submitted to the Franchise Committee	319
(ii)—The Memorandum of evidence given on behalf of the Utkal Hitaishini Samaj, Parlakimedi before the Franchise and Subjects Committees at Madras	324
.. F. The Utkal Union Conference	329
Bibliography	338
Index	342

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

I have much pleasure in acknowledging with gratitude to the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das the timely help he has given of his own accord, in bearing the cost of publication of this volume *The Oriya Movement*. The book, it is hoped, will remove a long-standing desideratum in the political literature of the country. The authors of the book have done well in treating the subject of the Oriya movement in its different aspects, so as to impress the public, Indian and European, with the urgency of the reforms therein advocated. The peculiar interest or the value of the book will perhaps be brought into clear relief, if it be borne in mind that the authors who are themselves graduates in History, were attracted, while at college, to a special study of the subject. The book breathes with patriotism and fervour, and affords a source of inspiration to young Orissa whose duty it is to study its pages with that earnestness and zeal that is essential to rouse them to their duty of educating public opinion and realising the fruits of this noble movement. The price of the book is rather cheap, considering the newness of the publication answering the new spirit. I am sure, the patriotic spirit with which it is written, and offered, will be shared by its readers, and will bear fruit in the new era of hope that is to dawn on India in the coming years.

ASKA.
(GANJAM DR.),
27th Dec. 1919.

H. H. PANDA,
Secretary,
Oriya Samaj, Ganjam.

AUTHORS' PREFACE

The idea of writing such a book as this suggested itself to us a few years ago, and materials were being collected,—though not quite with this definite object in view—but the idea did not materialise early enough as the time at our disposal was only that which could be snatched from our daily routine. The events of the last two years including the visit of the Secretary of State to this country, and the other enquiries which followed that visit, created a situation, the importance of which was being daily impressed on our minds, and added an impetus to this desire. We distinctly hoped that an invaluable service could be rendered at this time by a suitable presentation of the subject to the public, and by throwing broadcast all those ideas which are at the bottom of the national movement. Considering the occasion and the opportunity, we may assert that this is the book of the hour, especially as it appears at a time when, as we believe, the grievances of the community have reached a maximum and require speedy handling by those who are in the forefront of public life.

The division of our subject will be easily apparent. We have sought not merely to catalogue the evils resulting from the present state of administrative dismemberment and given arguments for union, but have emphasised also on what larger grounds of

national well-being the community deserves a distinct status. The chapters on 'Allied Movements', 'Geographical Unity', 'Genius of the People' etc., provide ample material in this respect. A full constructive scheme is given, and we have attempted to prove the financial self-sufficiency of a future province of Orissa. To make the volume complete, as far as it goes, in presenting a distinct idea of the people and their problem, we have added separate chapters on 'The Standing Economic Evils', 'Feudatory States', 'Industrial possibilities' etc. A chronological survey of the events relating to the movement is given at the beginning, while the six Appendices at the end of the book will be found useful for purposes of reference.

The class to which the book belongs demands that it should at once be exhaustive and comprehensive in its treatment. Within limits we have attempted the task, though, from the nature of things, we cannot assure the reader that our expectations were completely realised in this respect. We have, therefore, tried not only to present the subject from the point of view of a student of affairs, but have also sought to bring out the deeper, cultural aspects at the back of this movement, which, above all else, is essentially a national movement.

Our object in publishing this book is three-fold. The Government of the land is uniformly indifferent, though not hostile, to the movement for union, and the book, it is hoped, will serve to remove to a limited extent that ignorance of facts which gives rise to this

attitude. Again, the Indian public outside the Oriya country knows so little of Orissa or her needs that if this book is adequately circulated, it might tend to strengthen that mutual sympathy and understanding, which all the Indian communities so much desire; and what is of immediate value, help to give ■ definite shape to the general movement for ■ distribution of provincial areas, ■ far ■ may be, on ■ linguistic basis. Thirdly, the book will have served the most immediate interests if it is received by the younger generation with earnestness ; for, it is too often apparent that many of us do commit serious mistakes in our efforts for ■ worthy cause, because of the lack of necessary equipment for the task,—and this, in the main, is true, however virtuous our enthusiasm might be. It is hardly necessary to reiterate the seriousness the problem is daily assuming, and the struggles to which members of the community are subjected in consequence, and we earnestly hope that this venture will help to stimulate ■ responsive spirit in young men in Orissa.

Our sincere thanks ■■ due to Messrs. Vikram Deo Varma (Vizagpatam), Pandit Krushnachandra Acharya (Singbhumi), Lalmohan Pati (Baripada), Ramnarayan Misra (Sambalpur), and numerous friends and correspondents for providing ■■ with certain information and helping ■■ in other ways during the progress of our work. In ■ special measure, however, we are indebted to the Oriya Samaj, Ganjam, to whose voluminous files and records we had free

access. We have also to acknowledge the services of two students of the Parlakimedi College who have greatly helped to prepare the map given ■ frontispiece to this volume.

NOTE TO THE PREFACE

As was previously contemplated, this volume was to contain ■ foreword from the pen of the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das C.I.E. The manuscript was sent to him, but for certain reasons such as want of time etc., the foreword could not appear, and in time. The undertaking has his full sympathy and approval, and it is unnecessary to point out that ■ wide-spread circulation of the book in Orissa would give him great pleasure. On our part we regret that the reader is deprived of the privilege of a foreword from the Hon'ble Mr. Das. ■

INTRODUCTION.

A healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality ■ ■ healthy man is of his bones. But if you break ■ nation's nationality it will think of nothing else but getting it set again.....It will attend to no business, however vital, except the business of unification and liberation.

—JOHN REDMOND.

To the Indian public outside the Oriya country, Orissa is no more than ■ name, ■ *terra incognita*, The problem. Territorial with a vague history of its dismemberment own, abounding in hills and forests, and subject to constant famines and floods, with may be a sprinkling of religious shrines. To the Indian administrator, it is ■ tract well known for exceeding loyalty and, but for an occasional protest from its people when administrative changes are effected, ■ entirely peaceful province. To many in Orissa itself, it is ■ land stricken with fate, reduced to the lowest verge of poverty, with no margin for regeneration of any kind, and hopelessly dismembered. To the rising youth, it is the occasion for flashes of enthusiasm, however intermittent, suggesting the glories of a dim indeterminate past and actuating them to an occasional deed of virtue.
* * * Orissa is these, yet not exactly these. *

SHE IS DISMEMBERED : THAT IS THE FACT.

This explains, in all its aspects, the problem of the Oriya people, what they are, and what their country is like. Never since the time when the country touches acknowledged history has it been subjected to such a disruption, so significant and so suggestive.

No wonder that the Oriya of the twentieth century opens his eyes to find that in the enlightened times he lives, his country has been in the Indian continent territorially fragmented in a unique manner. He feels a sense of incompleteness within himself and realises that an artificial barrier has been created between brother and brother, and sister and sister, and that on this account, the consciousness of a national unity is being destroyed. That affinity of language and community which instinctively attracts all the members of the race and fosters in them the idea of a common national life suffers deterioration. National forces dissipate — if under the impulse of a centrifugal tendency. The expression of a united national will is consequently very much thwarted. Instead of a healthy growth, the community suffers the perpetual disadvantage of losing its own national individuality. Things, in its case, do not seem to run in the groove for which Nature intended them. For this reason, it cannot assimilate new elements of culture that come into inevitable contact with it.

Let us now examine how such a situation has Conditions of the problem. been brought into being and investigate the conditions which the problem presents.

The most important feature as regards the problem is the presence of alien elements of population who wield an influence and responsibility quite incompatible with their intrinsic importance in a tract of country where they are not the children of the soil. When the British rulers annexed, without regard for logicality in such a procedure, tract after tract of the Oriya country, they had as their immediate object not the well-being of the people over whom they established their rule, but the administration of the country in as efficient a manner as would admit of a regular and unhindered collection of their taxes. As was inevitable under the circumstances, especially in view of the comparatively late annexation of the Oriya country, this strange apotheosis of efficiency led them at the sacrifice of good government to bring in non-Oriya agents belonging to neighbouring provinces to act as intermediaries for their purpose. These non-indigenous agents, who had a good start of the Oriyas in clerical life and who were only recruited for mere exigencies of service, moved with the government as it advanced, and settled first about the borderland of the country and finally in the very heart of it. Thus, a portion to the south lay annexed to the Madras province, a portion on the west to the Central Provinces, and so on—in each case the Oriya

element being too far away from the administrative centre and forming, too small ■ factor to determine effectively the purpose or the policy of the government relating to the province. The alien element who had, in each case, a different language and different customs and whose very purpose in coming into the province was vitally opposed to the interests of the indigenous population gradually acquired an artificial importance well nigh threatening the national extinction of the children of the soil. In matters of administration these formed intermediary ruling races, and in non-administrative matters, their manners and customs were sought to be superimposed on the people. All this was, of course, done with the government of the land behind them, never seeking an opportunity to understand the problems of the people or their interests and aspirations except, of course, ■ could be interpreted by these interested intermediaries. In this sense, it might be that their artificial predominance was not directly the fault of the communities concerned. It was, ■ it were, the ideas of exploitation and self-interest were thrust upon them from outside by an all-powerful Government.

These alien sections of the population established themselves, ■ was natural in their case, in the metro-

Vested interests created. politan centres and along the railway lines, some-
times, of course, penetrating into the far interior.
Gradually ■ wealth increased or other circumstancess

became favourable, under the patronage of a government pledged to efficiency, vested interests were created. Two-thirds of the landed proprietors of Orissa, if not more, were, for the sake of arrears, dispossessed of their estates which were sold by auction at a place like distant Calcutta to a dewan or a shroff of a Collector of Orissa, in many cases unknown to the owners of the estates themselves. Witness what a Commissioner of Orissa himself says in the course of a letter to the Government on 13th May, 1818 :

"I am persuaded that many of the natives think that the Mahratta Government with its entire absence of system was better adapted to the state of society in which they existed than the British Government with its enlightened, humane, and refined one. They seem unconscious of any particular benefits which have resulted to them from the operations of British laws and regulations, whilst it is very apparent that they have increased the assessment, required payment of revenue in silver instead of cowries, augmented the price of salt to six times its former rate, and dispossessed upwards of two-thirds of the original native proprietors from their estates. The people of the interior seemed also to have thought all applications to the court vain and fruitless of late years, unless besides the legal, authorised, overwhelming expense of stamp paper, fees, etc., they could further

produce ■ considerable sum to purchase the favour or at least the forbearance of the sunder *amla*.*

"The dialect of Bengal is, perhaps, equally unfamiliar to the inhabitants of the interior. But translations of the regulations exist only in the Persian and the Bengalee languages. Not a single regulation has ever been translated into the great Vernacular language of the Province, and the means elsewhere adopted of imparting some knowledge to the people of the laws by which they are governed, by distributing copies at every thana and mofussil cutchery have here neither been resorted to, or if followed, would, of course, have been nugatory from the contents being locked up in languages wholly unknown to the bulk of the people.

"An almost systematic exclusion also of the genuine Hindu natives of Orissa from every situation about the Courts, in the Police, in the Revenue and Salt Departments, has prevailed from the very beginning. After ■ whole race having been thus long proscribed and thrown into the background, it may well be supposed that at the distance of 14 years the utmost difficulty is experienced in procuring men tolerably qualified for any of the higher and more important posts, and the acting and Joint-Magistrates have ■ yet been unable to select any of those brought

* This, by the way, is a commentary on the corruption then prevailing, traces of which ■■■ even to this day in the "intermediaries" already referred to.

INTRODUCTION

up in the district for the situations to which they certainly possess the best claim.

"The exclusion of the native Oorials (*Oriyas*) from all offices of trust and respectability has also tended in a degree to check and confine the diffusion of a knowledge of our system. The information derived by the better educated and instructed classes employed in sudder and mofussil situations would have travelled by slow degrees to their families and connections, and to those in whose society they resided, and must in time have produced their effects. At present all are alike ignorant and uninformed regarding the British laws, regulations, and system of Government.

"In the second and third years after the extension of the Bengal Regulations to Cuttack, estates paying a *jumma* of 4½ lakhs of rupees out of a *jumma* of Rs. 12,00,000 were sold at public auction for arrears of revenue. Surely any temporary sacrifice of revenue would have been a less evil than the rigorous enforcement of the rules of a new code. The inadequate value at which these lands were sold also immensely aggravate the hardship of the measure, and has justly been termed by the Collector (in his report) *little better than downright robbery*. To omit all mention of other cases, Moonahée Nusseemooddeen alone, the dewan of the gentleman then holding the situation of Collector, purchased in one year at the public auction sales estates paying a *jumma* of Rs. 53,000 for a ~~sum~~ of Rs. 23,000." And

the Commissioner adds in a marginal note, "the purchases were made of course benamee, vide Mr. Trower's statements annexed to report. The estates in question have, I understand, long since been disposed of to other speculators"—[Quoted in *The Oriya* 5-12-17.]

After this frank confession, it is difficult to exercise sufficient self-restraint.

Similar corruption and irregularity prevailed in all the outlying tracts of Orissa attached to the neighbouring provinces. For instance, Mr. Brown, Collector of Ganjam (1800) writes that he found the province "once ■ most flourishing and delightful tract of country" reduced to "nearly the last ebb of ■ depopulated and frightful waste capable of recovery, however, from the brink of utter dilapidation and ruin, and likely by ■ wise and honourable system of Government to rise superior to its apparent destiny and yield in importance and splendour to no province" [Maltby's "History of the Ganjam District," 1877.] The scandalous manner in which the Atagada Zamindari was sold and the deep-laid conspiracy that was in the background which later provoked ■ rising of the people themelves ■ ■ matter of history and will well illustrate the nature of the administration as was then carried on by the intermediary rulers. "In 1810, the Mohirry Zamindary was attached for a balance of Rs. 33,169.2.6 and sold by public auction.....The real purchaser was one Bandam Chalamaya, the Collector's Shroff who asso-

ciated himself with other persons for the purpose of buying the Zamindary.....The Rani declared that she had been deprived of her Zamindary by a Cutcherry trick" [Ibid.]

Here is a description of ■ state of things estimated by persons in authority shorn of any possible prejudice that might attach to other accounts. They reveal to view by what an artificial process, vested interests were created, ■ phenomenon which was bound to give rise to conflicts. In order that ■ natural awakening on the part of the people themselves might be helped, a speedy policy of elimination must be pursued; and where that is not possible, it must be the aim of the rulers to ■ frame their policies that the alien elements ■ made to identify their interests with those of the children of the soil. Thirdly, it is absolutely necessary that freer and greater opportunities should be offered to those belonging to the indigenous population. In all these matters, however, a clear and consistent policy should be followed.

In recent years, there is ■ distinct awakening on the part of the Oriyas themselves who assert their rights as children of the soil and claim that justice be done to them. There have been several factors that have tended to bring about this consciousness in the people. Among the determining features of such an awakening might be mentioned ■ spread of the great literature which has been their heritage and the

culture of that literature in the more modern times. The religious affinities that bind one member of the community with another, the social relations that subsist, and the business connections that are inevitable in a civilised state of society, all have tended to the fostering of that idea of union which provides the germs of a common nationality. Added to these, the general awakening in India at large of the masses of the population and the ideals and aspirations animating the country from one end to another have produced a corresponding revival throughout all Natural Orissa.

As in every other case Orissa chose her own methods of expression of this spirit of awakening. Among other institutions, the Utkal Union Conference started in 1903 was the first fruit of this general renascence. It was, indeed, appropriate that the seeds of this national organisation should have been sown in Ganjam in Madras, which had been characterised by the utmost suffering. The idea of a Ganjam National Conference soon caught the imagination of the whole Oriya-speaking country and during the same year (1903), the Utkal Union Conference came into being, its first sitting being held in the town of Cuttack in December of that year.

The period of transition that followed like all such transitional periods was characterised by a remarkable

- The transition. flow of life in quarters where hitherto inactivity or a want of energy prevailed. People awoke kindled

with ■ new life, stirred and animated by newer aspirations and yet newer ideals. The fact that even the ruling power in the land recognised the acuteness of the situation when the Government of Lord Curzon recommended the union of the Oriya-speaking areas in 1903, served to inspire the people with ■ hope unparalleled in its breadth or its intensity. The ■ great fact became patent that the nation would not die! Amidst the immeasurable gloom that prevailed till that time shone ■ beacon lights on the distant horizon the figures of a Narsing Das or ■ Harihar Panda in Ganjam, a Madhusudan Das or ■ Baikunth Nath De in Orissa, who despite the imperfections that attached to themselves or their work exercised ■ miraculous influence ■ the rising generation infusing into them ■ freshness and ■ enthusiasm that were absent hitherto. It was ■ if dry bones acquired new life and robed themselves in flesh and blood and proclaimed aloud their own peculiar destiny in the land. Men realised that in them lay the ultimate power for ■ full national development. The glory of the dim past presented itself in a panorama to the mind of the educated youth. Like ■ Rip Van Winkle fresh from ■ deep slumber he returned to dive into the hoary past and to know that the country which gave birth to him was the last stronghold, under Mussalman aggression, of Hinduism, that afforded shelter to numbers of monarchs who fled from their kingdoms in order to seek refuge in Orissa. While province after province lay prostrate under the match

of the invading foe, and temple and shrine was razed to the ground by the apostles of an aggressive and proselytising faith, Orissa went on — its course of uninterrupted temple-building, perhaps the proudest memorial left to the modern times of its ancient civilisation. Alas! For the day that made possible the woes of the people!

The outlook though not without difficulties and therefore not decidedly cheering contains within it

A forecast: The Conference. potency for much good.

The prospect which the Utkal Union Conference offers — the embodiment of the national will is certainly not discouraging. It is already representative in its character, as the lowest individual has a voice in its deliberations. The attendance which it secures and the enthusiasm, however imperfect, that it generates in men of dissimilar temperament ensures to it the character of popularity, — is also evidenced by the fact that proceedings are conducted in the language of the people. It need hardly be said that it focusses the needs of the people and embodies in a concrete form their feelings and aspirations. But, to render it an effective medium of service, it is necessary that a more systematic and continued work should be on its records, while a still more extensive popular participation is certainly also necessary. Thirdly, not being of an all-India character it has the disadvantage of being misrepresented as to its aims or its ideals, however justifiable it might be to retain a somewhat

provincial character, especially under the peculiar circumstances of the case. No doubt, the unique fact that the nature of the problem presented by it is singular in all India, makes it in this sense a question of all-India importance and hence of the first magnitude. But opportunity should be afforded wherever practicable to deal with problems of bigger moment and broader importance. For, there is ■ great danger lest, due to non-participation in higher or wider questions, the case of the community might go by default ; while it is also impossible to remain aloof when larger forces will compel us even in spite of ourselves inevitably to be dragged into their midst.

The growth of events has considerably changed the attitude of the outside world towards problems

The evolution of the move- of a similar nature ; and ment. there are everywhere signs of a more comprehensive understanding of situations similar to that of the Oriyas. For instance, in 1904, the opposition that the proposed union of the Oriya-speaking tracts evoked was insurmountable. There was ■ three-sided opposition, from above, from within, and from without. The Government of Madras which knocked the proposal of Lord Curzon on the head was actively hostile, ■ also its agents in Ganjam and Vizagapatam. Certain zamindars of Ganjam especially, were definitely opposed to the measure and even went, perhaps to ■ large extent under subtle influences at work in the background, to the length of actively associating themselves in

sending up counter memorials and in making demonstrations of ■ like nature. Added to these was ■ third and ■ most prominently hostile factor, the deliberate opposition of many of the Telugus in Ganjam and Jeypore, who even stooped to undesirable and unscrupulous methods of expressing their feeling of resentment at and opposition to the union of the Oriya-speaking tracts. All these tended to frustrate the noble attempts of the Viceroy Lord Curzon to bring together a dismembered nation, and resulted in the resolution to leave the Madras Oriya tracts in the province in which they hitherto lay. The next definite stage which may be said to centre round the year 1912 saw, however, ■ decided improvement in the situation. This was the time when the Oriyas memorialised to the Government of Lord Hardinge on the occasion of the modification of the 'Bengal Partition for the recognition in their case of the principle of unity of language and race in analogy with that of Bengal. By this time, all opposition from within the communal body had disappeared ; and as regards opposition from outside, there was a great deal of change in the angle of vision ; for, the Andhra Movement had just then drawn its first inspiration from the Royal Boons of Delhi and was soon crystallising into ■ definite shape. The attitude of the Civil Service had by this time also been considerably modified. The third stage, however, including the happenings of the most recent years is ■ stage of ■ more decided improvement in respect of its condition

and its outlook, and is to a great extent hopeful. The kind of reception which the well-known resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma moved in the Imperial Legislative Council in February 1918 was accorded by the Government was definitely for the good, and indicated a sympathetic acceptance and not a mere tacit recognition of the general principle of linguistic distribution. The approval in the M. C. Report on principle of the suggestion to constitute linguistic provinces constitutes a further support. The attitude of the interested "intermediaries" already alluded to became inevitably less hostile on the score of principle, though, of course, exception is taken albeit on slender grounds, to contentious details in any scheme which is advanced in the direction of the union of the Oriya tracts. The Andhra Movement again which professes to be based on the general principle of linguistic distribution of provinces has now in effect cut away the ground from beneath the anti-Oriya Andhra reactionaries of Ganjam and Jeypore ; for these latter could not with any show of righteousness claim the application of the principle in one case and the avoidance of it in another. The very persons who a couple of years back were rending heaven and earth proclaiming the unsoundness of the principle of the formation of linguistic provinces were miraculously metamorphosed into strong advocates of the self-same principle that they were erstwhile condemning. The general change which has come over the temper of the country will be gauged from

the great contrast which the Congress resolution of 1903 presents on the question of the union of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency with Orissa, with the more recent resolution of 1917 of the National Congress sitting of Calcutta, when in definite terms it created what is called an Andhra Provincial Congress Circle before ■ province of the description had been actually created.

But with all this, it has to be recognised that the nature of the problem of the Oriyas is wholly peculiar to themselves, and in its range and intensity unique

in all India. To include, therefore, the Oriya problem categorically in the general question of creating linguistic provinces, is a serious mistake. No other community in India is distributed into such a large number of provincial administrations forming in each an insignificant minority in respect of population. The Andhras, for instance, who ■ demanding a separate province for themselves are all enfolded in ■ single provincial administration, ■ also several other communities similarly aggrieved. No community again occupies ■ uniformly the tail end in each of the provinces, thus not being able to attract that share of attention which it could otherwise attract, at least, by virtue of its numerical strength. The example of the Canarese and the Gujarathis who occupy numerically ■ position almost similar to the Oriyas, affords ■ striking contrast. They are not dismembered in the manner in which the Oriyas are.

What is more, the interests of the Canarese as a people ■ safeguarded by an enlightened and progressive state like Mysore, while the commercial and industrial progress of the Gujarathis are ensured to them from above. And what is significant, even the Malayalees and the Sindhi-speaking people who ■ about two-thirds and one-third ■ important in respect of numerical strength ■ much better off.

The annexation of Orissa at ■ late period of British Indian history also constitutes a grave drawback in that it entailed a slow process of disintegration of the social life of the people, which was bound to react on them politically. It threw into the background the native element in respect of the administration of their own country. The influx of a large population of the neighbouring communities to fulfil exigencies of service and help the consolidation and development of the country was also one other important factor which determined the gradual degeneration which followed in the wake of all these evils. There is perhaps ■ other community which is so thoroughly, not even excluding its interior parts, overrun by men of the neighbouring races. The question, for instance, of domiciles which occurs in Orissa has never arisen anywhere else in the whole country. In fact, in all these ways, national life is arrested. The people feel that the very elementary privilege of self-preservation has been denied to them, and are convinced that unless the union becomes an accomplished fact, the question of maintaining

their national life in health and vigour will assume dangerous proportions, irrespective of the doles and crumbs which persons in authority, however benevolent or well-intentioned they be, might deal out occasionally to them.

We appeal to those in authority in whose hands for the time being the destinies of a whole people lie, to remove a singular blot on the character of their administration by recognising the natural aspirations of the people and helping to promote their national union. It is by virtue of the liberty-loving traditions of Britain that they owe a natural duty to perform towards the people of a country hopelessly dismembered like a veritable neo-Poland. We appeal to the growing national consciousness of the country at large to lend its support and its influence to the righteous struggle of the people of the Oriya country in endeavouring to maintain their very national existence. For, indifference to the vital needs of a recognised tract of the country implies a diseased state of national life which could only be enriched by treating with the indulgence due to it the needs and aspirations of every communal unit of the country. The wounds which a Government has unwittingly created need to be healed. Those who live outside Orissa must treat the subject in a spirit of broad-minded sympathy; and that is a part of their duty. For, the Oriyas as a national entity do not seek special favours and small mercies. They believe that their union is bound to be an accomplished fact sooner or later.

Its importance has been recognised, and it has been guaranteed to be feasible, and, therefore, realisable.

The Amalgamation must and shall be a fact.

History of the Movement.

THE dismembered condition of the Oriya country with fragments at the tail ends of provinces was brought about by the unnatural policies of the British conquerors. We propose to set forth chronologically how this artificial and unnatural situation has been brought into being. This was perceived both by the rulers and the ruled who were interested in the good administration of the country. The earliest indications of the consciousness of ■ feeling of unnaturalness of the territorial dismemberment are found in the suggestion, which a Secretary of State at the time Sir Stafford Northcote made, to bring under one separate administration the country of Orissa. This feeling was, ■ it were, thrust on him consequent on the failure of the Government under Sir G. Beadon, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to grapple with the Famine in Orissa of 1866. H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, in his letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal No. 3678, dated 3rd December 1903, says : "As long ago as 1688 Sir Stafford Northcote drew attention to the greatly augmented demands that the outlying portions of Bengal appeared to make on the time and labour of those concerned in the government of the province. He referred to the famine of 1866 as

furnishing evidence of the defects of the existing system of government when exposed to the ordeal of a serious emergency, and, among other methods of relieving the over-taxed administration, he suggested the separation from Bengal proper of Assam and possibly of Orissa.¹¹ It was, however, eventually decided that Orissa should remain attached to Bengal, and possibly for the reason that ■ way could not be found for providing for Orissa in any other neighbouring province, or for the fact that influential parties in Bengal having interests in Orissa stood in the way of the proposal.

In 1876, Raja Baikunth Nath De of Balasore and the late Bichitrānand Patnaik had memorialised to the Government for union under ■ single administration of all the scattered Oriya tracts.

The next occasion on which the administrative reunion of the Oriyan tracts was put forward was when Mr. Cooke, I.C.S., Commissioner of Orissa wrote in the Administrative Report of the Otissa Division, published in the Calcutta Gazette Supplement, dated 23rd October 1895, p. 2,357, to the effect that, "as a question of administrative reform for which there is much to be said, I have to advocate the extension of the divisional boundaries so as to include the whole area populated by races speaking the Oriya language, or, at any rate, some definite areas adjoining Orissa where the Oriya language prevails. Orissa is a very small division, both in area and population, and there is no doubt that the Commissioner could

find time to deal with a very material addition to his work.

"The areas that I refer to, are the Sambalpur District of the Chatisgarh Division of the Central Provinces with the tributary states of Patna, Sonepur, Rairakhol, Bamra, Kalahandi, and the whole or part of the Ganjam District with the states of Khandi and Chumisir.

"Among the reasons for this change are, as I have said, the uniting in a single division and placing under the same laws and rules the whole local Oriya population, instead of having a portion of it forming an insignificant item of the Central Provinces, and another portion forming an equally insignificant item of the Madras Presidency. I am in possession of a map of India, dated 1841, in which, either on ethnological or political grounds, the province of Orissa includes the two portions of territory that I have proposed to absorb in this division." He then goes on describing the political, ethnological and philosophical grounds which support his proposal.

In Ganjam in Madras, the national awakening dates from the last seventies, when on account of popular demands the Madras University recognised the independent status of the Oriya language by making it a subject of study in 1873. And in 1890, the Oriya language was ordered by the Madras Government [G. O. No. 2024, Judicial, dated 15th December 1890] to be used in courts and Government offices. But for reasons inherent in a system

of filling up the public offices by non-Oriyas, this G. O. remained inoperative, ultimately necessitating the declaration of Oriya as sole court language in parts of the district. To this we shall advert later. Coming to the administrative aspect of the movement, one finds that towards the close of the last century the feeling for administrative union of Ganjam with Orissa became very keen. During the latter half of 1902 ■ monster memorial to Lord Curzon, the then Governor-General of India was drafted above the signatures of hundreds of Oriyas. The memorialists speak of themselves as dissociated from their Oriya brethren, and of Orissa ■ "a limb separated from the body, and they pray not for ■ patchwork redistribution but that the Government of India will be graciously pleased to bring together the scattered divisions inhabited by Oriya-speaking peoples, i.e., Ganjam in Madras, Sambalpur in the Central Provinces, and Orissa in Bengal, under the Government of Bengal or under any one government and one university."

Early in 1903 ■ small band of enthusiasts gathered in the town of Rambha under the beneficent auspices of the Raja of Khallikote and resolved to establish the Ganjam Jatiya Samiti (National Conference) whose first sitting was proposed to be held in the town of Berhampur in the ensuing Easter. To this Conference at Berhampur in the ensuing Easter, persons from Orissa and other Oriya-speaking tracts were invited. A united expression was given on this occasion to

the desire of the people to be amalgamated in a common administration, and a desire was also made to hold every year similar national sittings.

In Sambalpur, which was under the Central Provinces, the national feeling had also been very keen. When the district was annexed to Chota Nagpur, Hindi was the court language. But afterwards Oriya was declared as court language and prevailed in such for a period of over forty years. But in 1896, owing to ignorance of the intermediary officers of the Oriya language, it was decided to abandon Oriya in favour of Hindi. But the difficulties of administration in the interests of the majority of the Oriya population became so abnormal that the residents of Sambalpur waited in deputation on Sir Andrew Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in July 1901 and said to the effect that "if it was thought impossible to have Oriya as the language of one Central Provinces district, they would prefer to be transferred to Orissa". The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces asked in the same year in a despatch to the Government of India for the separation of Sambalpur in the Central Provinces in consonance with the people's desire. But though the Government could not comply with the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner, they restored Oriya as the court language of Sambalpur. It is on this occasion that the foremost popular leader, the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das of Cuttack on behalf of the Oriyas of Sambalpur moved the Government of India on the subject and was partly

responsible for this decision. This substitution of Oriya for Hindi in the district of Sambalpur led to the discussion, by the Government of India, of the transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces and other proposals for the redistribution of the existing provincial jurisdictions. These were still in progress when the cession of Berar by His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to the Government of India made them examine the question of territorial redistribution in India on a more comprehensive scale. This gave rise to the letter by H. H. Risley in December 1903 to the several provincial governments.

In Orissa itself, the Oriyas were not less handicapped than their brethren either of Ganjam or Sambalpur, in their national progress. In the beginning of the seventies of the last century, serious efforts were made by Bengalees who filled the public services to demonstrate that the Oriya language had no separate identity from Bengali, but that it was a mere dialect of the latter. Even in the University, the language had not received the recognition that was its due ; and it was only since 1902 that in the F. A. and B.A. Examinations of the Calcutta University Oriya was permitted to be used as a language in which questions in Vernacular original composition could be answered. And even this was effected through the intervention of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, while the Syndicate of the University at first refused permission for such recognition. A feeling gradually came into prominence that the lot of the

community in its dismemberment was affecting national growth in all its aspects. The grand idea of a national assembly suggested itself to several persons, which culminated in Mr. M. S. Das convening an informal conference at his residence of all prominent men of Orissa gathered in the town of Cuttack on the occasion of the Darbar of January 1903; and herein lay the germs of the Utkal Union Conference which began its life from the succeeding December. Prior to the Easter of the same year, ■ special representation was sent by Raja Baikunth Nath De of Balasore, to the Government of India, who asked that, "all the districts and state speaking the Oriya language be united together and placed under one common administration, no matter whether under Madras, Bengal, the Central Provinces, or a separate administration."

On the 2nd of April, 1903, a meeting of the citizens of Cuttack convened under the auspices of the Orissa Association resolved that "■ memorial be submitted to H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and the prayer of such memorial be (1) to transfer to the Orissa Division, the Oriya-speaking portions of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagpatnam, Sambalpur, Chota Nagpur, and Midnapore, ■ far as this can be done, having regard to territorial continuity, or (2) to raise the Orissa Division to a Chief Commissionership, like that of Assam, retaining the judicial supervision of the Honourable High Court at Calcutta, and the educational connection with the

Calcutta University, whichever of these two measures is, in the opinion of the Government, better calculated to secure the advancement of the race." It must be noted that the terms of this resolution do not specify under what provincial government, according to the first part of the resolution, the Oriya speaking areas were proposed to be enfolded. But the memorial subsequently submitted to the Viceroy in compliance with the above resolution by Mr. M. S. Das, the President of the Orissa Association favoured connection with Bengal, and deprecated the contemplated annexation of the Oriya tracts with the Central Provinces. By this time a considerable volume of opinion was crystallising in the direction of amalgamation not with Bengal but with the Central Provinces, in the event the alternative course suggested by the second part of the resolution was not given effect to. This movement was led by Babu Gokulanand Choudhury and Rev. George Howells. But the fundamental demand for union was throughout insistent ; and the whole people were awaiting with keen interest the first sittings of the Utkal Union Conference which were to be held during the month of December to give united expression to this national desire.

Actually before the Conference met on the 30th and the 31st of December, the famous proposal popularly known as the Bengal Partition, to relieve the excessive administrative burden of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal by the creation of a

Lieutenant-Governorship for Eastern Bengal and Assam, was made by Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, who included in his scheme the union of the whole of the Oriya-speaking people, both hill and plain, under one administration and to make that administration Bengal, thus compensating for the loss from Bengal of its eastern territories. The letter No. 3678 of H. H. Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 3-12-1903, copies of which were sent to the other provincial governments expatiates on the success of the scheme so far ■ the problem of the Oriyas is concerned in the following terms. Says the letter, "such a scheme would solve the question of language once and for all. This change would relieve both the Central Provinces and Madras of a troublesome excrescence upon their administrative system ; and it would result in handing over the Oriya problem to one government alone, on ■ scale and with a unity that would admit of its being treated with consistency and efficiency". All honour to George Nathaniel Earl Curzon of Keddaleston, the great British statesman, for his benevolent proposal! The Oriya community had now found a saviour whose name she will remember for ever with feelings of extreme gratefulness.

The Utkal Union Conference, whose name itself implies the idea of the people's union, met in the town of Cuttack in December 30th and 31st. Representatives from Midnapore, Sambalpur, and

Ganjam flocked in hundreds. The Feudatory Chiefs of Talcher, Keonjhar, Atagad, and Dhenkanal attended. Hundreds of Government servants also attended the Conference, having obtained permission therefor from the local Government. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, the premier Feudatory State in Orissa, presided over the deliberations. It was truly a national assembly ; and the first resolution moved by the Chief of Keonjhar relates to the administrative union of the Oriya tracts, and thanks the Government of Lord Curzon for the beneficent proposal previously published during the month. A similar resolution regarding the administrative union continues to be repeated every year during the last 14 years of the life of the Conference.

Meanwhile Lord Curzon's proposals for the Partition of Bengal had been severely criticised in the country, and attempts were being made to give expression to this feeling of dissatisfaction in the XIX session of the Indian National Congress which was to meet during December of the 1903 year under the presidency of Lalmohan Ghose. On 30-12-1903, the Congress passed the following resolution on the subject of the territorial dismemberment :

"That this Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social, and administrative relations, and the Congress deprecates the separation from Bengal

of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong Divisions and portions of Chota Nagpur Division, and also the separation of the District of Ganjam, and the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam from the Madras Presidency."

In the Subjects Committee, the latter part of the resolution relating to the Oriyas of Madras was after some difficulty included through undue pressure exerted by interested Telugus Mr. G Raghavarao of Berhampur in Ganjam seconded the resolution remarking that Ganjam consisted of Oriyas and Telugus, and that the Telugus if amalgamated with Oriyas of Orissa, would be ■ 'troublesome excrescence' on Bengal, comfortably forgetting that the Telugu taluk of Chicacole, with Narasannapet, in the south-east of Ganjam, had been excluded from consideration in the proposal of the Government. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer of the Tamil country while admitting the soundness of the principle on which objection was made to the Partition of Bengal, made ■ determined stand against the proposal to abandon the question of amalgamation of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency from Orissa, and moved ~~an~~ amendment for deleting the last part of the resolution. This amendment was duly seconded, but when put to vote, it was lost. This thoughtless action of the National Congress in disregarding the claims of smaller nationalities in the interests of larger ones is a severe commentary on the representative character of the Congress ■ it was then constituted.

Nevertheless, public opinion in the country greatly favoured the idea of the administrative union of the Oriya tracts. Babu Sita Nath Roy, Secretary, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in his letter to the Government of Bengal, dated 3rd February 1904, wrote : "it may be an advantage to the Orissa people themselves, and it appears some of them expressed a desire that the scattered units of the race, now placed under three different administrations, should be welded together and placed under one Commissioner, and the whole of Orissa bodily transferred to the Central Provinces, where as a whole by virtue of their preponderating number, they are sure to receive greater attention than they are said to do from the Government of Bengal."

The Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta in a letter to the Government of Bengal, February 1904 also wrote : "the principle here advocated is recognised in Mr. Risley's letter, as the proposal for the transfer of certain tracts from Chota Nagpur and Madras to Bengal is almost exclusively based on the advantage of uniting the whole of the Oriya-speaking people under one administration."

And W. Parsons, Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce in the course of a letter to the Government of Bengal, dated 19th March 1904, likewise advances the Oriya claim with emphasis : "Without following Mr. Risley too closely in his ethnological arguments for the consolidation of the Oriya-speaking populations under one Government, the committee

are inclined to agree with the Government of India ■ to the advisability of retaining Orissa under the Bengal Government, and also bringing under that Government Sambalpur and the Feudatory States from the Central Provinces, and the Ganjam District with the Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency tracts from Madras. *The Committee do not anticipate that any such change would prejudicially affect mercantile interests* (Italics ours), while it would probably help to remove the difficulties referred to in Mr. Risley's letter, which are said to have been for years ■ source of anxiety and trouble to the Central Provinces administration and to the Government of Madras."

The Government of Bengal also in the course of their letter, dated 6th April 1904 to the Government of India, speaking on the proposals regarding Orissa say : "The proposals are based mainly on the idea that it is desirable to unite under one administration all the Oriya-speaking races. The Lieutenant-Governor is able from his own experience, to give strong support to this proposal." The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces likewise favoured the union of the Oriya-speaking tracts, and advocated the transfer of Sambalpur (less the Phuljhar and Chandrapur-Padampur tracts) and the Feudatory States of Sonepur, Bamra, Patna, Kalahandi, and Rairakhol to Orissa.

In Orissa itself, the Collectors of the districts invited the opinions of the public on the question of the proposed union. Every shade of genuine public

opinion was in favour of ■ separate province constituted out of all the Oriya-speaking tracts under ■ Chief Commissionership, though the alternative proposal to merge the unit so formed in Bengal evoked considerable opposition in certain influential sections who advocated amalgamation with the Central Provinces.

In Madras also opinion was invited on the proposal of the Government. Several memorials and petitions had been dispatched to the Governments, both Imperial and Provincial. But the opposition from the Telugus was considerable. It should be remembered that the condition in Ganjam was at the time not ■ now. All the local bodies, the Union Panchayats, the Municipalities, and the Taluk and District Boards consisted mostly of Telugus. Most of the Government offices were filled with them. Under these circumstances, they could influence any decision in high quarters effectively to the detriment of Oriya interests. And at this time an artificial agitation was engineered by them mostly by unscrupulous means to thwart the Oriya cause. Some unknown persons, Penta Jogulu of Kasibugga and Malla Ramaswami Subuddhi of Palasa were made to submit memorials to the Viceroy, telegrams to the Madras Government and the Press in Madras. A memorial of the Oriyas to the Viceroy, dated 8th January 1904 signed by 6,600 persons disproved the genuineness of ■ counter-memorial of the Telugus said to have been submitted not only by Telugus but by Oriyas also. The

memorial says, "in the first place it is to be contested that the counter-memorial does not emanate from the Oriyas. If any Oriya has signed it, it is because he has been coaxed to do so. Many have already withdrawn their signatures stating that they were persuaded, without any acquaintance with the contents of the memorial, to act in that wise. The *Prajabandhu* newspaper of Ganjam has in its issues, dated 24th June ; 1st, 8th, 15th, 22nd and 23rd July, 1903, published how the Oriyas were persuaded, if not coaxed or misled, to sign the memorial of the Telugus. If some zamindars have added their signatures, it is because the *diwans* are Telugu men, or because they are influenced by the Telugus and incapable of exercising their own independent judgment."

The greatest blow came from the Madras Government who were unduly influenced by the Telugus of Ganjam. In his letter to the Government of India, dated 20-6-04, Sir Murray Hammick, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras under Lord Ampthill strenuously opposed the suggested amalgamation of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency with Orissa, first, on certain specific grounds which are, however, unfounded,, and secondly, on the general ground that, "it is useless to strive after an administration based on linguistic uniformity which both geographical and ethnological conditions combined with the ordinary course of trade and commerce and consequent commingling of races, render absolutely incapable of satisfactory fulfilment." The importance of the ques-

tion of linguistic division has since been recognised by the Hardinge Dispatch of 1911, by the action of the peoples including the Telugus themselves, and by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918. The other grounds on which the proposal is opposed are simply untenable, and we shall later show how they lead to conclusions in favour of the Oriyas. Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal who first supported union of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency with Orissa, after a table talk with the Collector of Ganjam during 1904, in his letter to the Government of India No. 2719 J.D. dated 12th September 1904, now made a somersault and opposed the transfer of the Madras Oriya areas on the ground that the Telugus in the district of Ganjam formed about 28 per cent. of the Oriya population and that the necessity of administering to the interests of this large population would give rise to immense difficulties even under Bengal. But Sir Andrew forgot that the bulk of this population lay in the Chicacole Taluk of the district proposed to be left in the Madras administration with a few thousands of them in other parts. In this connection it might be of interest to note that Sir Andrew admits, "that geographically and ethnologically the Ganjam District and the Agency tract, ought to have been under one administration with Orissa proper and the Oriya-speaking tracts of the Central Provinces, the common bond being the identity of race and the long-standing connection of the Oriya districts with the rural tribes of

the hills." This, it might be remembered, is in direct antithesis to the general grounds on which the Government of Lord Ampthill in Madras had taken objection to the proposed union.

In February 1905, during Ampthill's visit as Governor of Madras to Berhampur in Ganjam, he received an address from the Telugus of the district, in reply to which he said that he had strenuously protested against the scheme of transferring Ganjam to Bengal. It is noteworthy that on the same occasion the Oriyas were not allowed the privilege of reading their address ; and it was so arranged that they did not find a place in the Town Hall, constructed and maintained by ■ Oriya raja, who was then the most forward in the movement for the amalgamation.

Shortly after, Lord Ampthill was officiating as Viceroy at Calcutta during the absence of Lord Curzon in England on leave. When the question went up to him for final decision, he sealed the lot of the Oriya race by the Resolution of the Government of India, No. 2491, dated 19th July 1905, which abandoned the transfer of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency to Orissa, though the proposed transfer of Sambalpur to the latter was approved. This decision of Lord Ampthill in regard to the Madras Oriya areas was like that of a person presiding in an appellate court, where he was called upon to decide upon the merits of his own judgment. It did not require a

prophet to foresee the decision—opposed, as it was, to all principles of justice, equity, and practice.

Thereupon, the Oriya people of Ganjam in memorial to the Viceroy protested against the grounds advanced in the Resolution to abandon the proposed amalgamation, as having no foundation in fact; and went so far even to suggest the appointment of a non-official Commission by the Government to enquire in detail into the subject and expressing their willingness to incur the charges of the Commission, and finally abide by the decision of the Commission.

A subsequent memorial, dated 30th November 1905 to Lord Ampthill who had by this time reverted to his office as Governor of Madras states with bitterness the position to which the Oriyas were reduced, and, by the way, reveals by what means during the last two years this disastrous consummation was reached: "The Collector of the district did not pay even the slightest attention to the cries of the Oriyas embodied in their several petitions containing many thousands of signatures for their union with Orissa which are consigned to the waste paper basket in the Collectorate of Chatrapur. The Collector did not care to confer with Oriya men on this serious grievance of theirs."

Even after the abandonment of the proposal of the amalgamation of the Madras tracts to Orissa, the people continued their agitation for union with unabated energy. In the annual sittings of the Utkal Union Conference from 1904 to 1911 at places like

Cuttack, Balasore, Berhampur, and Puri, the resolution was kept on repeated every year, that the outlying Oriya tracts of Orissa be amalgamated with it. About the beginning of 1908 agitation was continued in England, and Mr. Das did yeoman service to the cause during his stay there. The Oriyas of Ganjam were repeatedly sending in memorials to the Government of India — well as the Government of Madras with prayers for the administrative union of the Oriya tracts. But the Government, instead of complying with this request of the community, introduced many palliative half-measures to mitigate the evils of the condition of dismemberment. The appointment of Oriyas in higher offices, the use of Oriya as court language in — where the interested parties — Oriyas, and making a knowledge of Oriya compulsory in the case of officers serving the interests of the Oriyas, were all insisted upon. But many of these Government orders remained inoperative, because of the illegitimate influence of non-Oriya officials. And the Oriya aspirations were not, as a result, even remotely fulfilled.

In 1907, Orissa gave her evidence before the Royal Commission on Decentralisation emphasising the grievances arising out of the dismembered state of the Oriya country and suggesting as a remedy the formation of a Chief Commissionership for the whole Oriya-speaking territory.

In 1909, a deputation of the Oriya Samaj, Ganjam, waited on His Excellency Sir Arthur Lawly,

the Governor of Madras and urged the question of separating the Oriya-speaking tracts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam from the Telugu-speaking area and joining them with Orissa.

In 1911, 25th August, the Government of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge in their famous Despatch to the Secretary of State bearing on the redistribution of territory of the provinces in the north-east of India, suggested the annulment of the Partition of Bengal and the creation of a new province of Behar and Orissa including Chota Nagpur, and the formation of a Chief Commissionership for Assam. They laid down that a settlement of boundaries should (1) provide convenient administrative units, (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people, and (3) be clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency. In para 19 Lord Hardinge says, "we are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people now included within the province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalees and have never therefore had a fair opportunity for development." Again he adds, "there has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years and a strong belief has grown up among the Biharees that Behar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal.....and that belief among the Biharees, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future and the present admirable

opportunity to carry out on our initiation ■ thoroughly sound and much deserved change." (Italics ours.)

Elsewhere the Despatch remarks : "The Oriyas like the Biharees have little in common with the Bengalees. And we propose to leave Orissa with Behar and Chota Nagpur. We believe that this arrangement will well accord with popular sentiment in Orissa and will be welcome to Behar ■ presenting ■ sea-board to the province."

The signatories to the Despatch never consulted popular opinion in Orissa when the latter was added to Behar, but affected the change assuredly not in the interests of Orissa but only to provide sufficient territorial area and population for Behar to deserve a lieutenant-governorship. All these changes become intelligible when we remember Sir Ali Imam of Behar was a signatory to the Dispatch. Apparently, we owe the measure to this distinguished patriot of Behar who was at the time in the Executive Council of the Viceroy !

It might, in this connection, be of interest to note that the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms admits that, "the attachment of Orissa to the rest of the province was dictated by the need of providing for areas which the new presidency could not absorb rather than by considerations of convenience and economy" [Para. 4].

On this occasion the Oriya agitation was conducted a second time with considerable intensity. The fact that redress of the long-standing grievance

of the Oriyas was not embodied in the Royal boons declared in December of that year in connection with the Durbar at Delhi gave rise to an agitation in India and England for the administrative union of the Oriya tracts. A monster memorial of the Oriyas of Ganjam submitted at this time to the Government of Lord Hardinge referring to the principles enunciated in the Government Despatch, prayed, "that in consonance with the policy of Government to preserve the 'identity of races' speaking a particular language by placing them under one administration, Your Excellency in Council be graciously pleased to unite the Oriya-speaking tracts of Madras with Orissa by placing them under the lieutenant-governor of the new province of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa." Lord Curzon, ex-Viceroy of India, during the passage of the Government of India Bill, through the House of Lords in June 1912, to give effect to the proclamation of the Royal boons, made a bold stand in favour of the administrative union of the Oriya tracts, declaring that "the interests of the Oriyas have been sacrificed without compunction" and that this callous indifference for Oriya interests has been due to the fact that "the Oriyas are a non-agitating people." Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State, in his reply, while appreciating the desire of the Oriya-speaking people for a Chief Commissionership promised that equal attention shall be paid to the needs of Orissa as to Behar. In the House of Commons also Mr. Mac Callum Scott, among other questions regarding

Orissa asked the Secretary of State if he would recommend to the Government of India the advisability of uniting the Oriya-speaking people under one administration and relieving the difficulties under the Madras Government which the Oriyas of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency were experiencing. This question elicited the reply from Mr. Montagu, then Under-Secretary of State for India that the proposed transfer of Ganjam to Orissa might be made at any time if "accumulated evidence be forthcoming" for the change. This characteristic reply is a sad commentary on the policy of the Government which deemed it necessary in the [redacted] of the Biharees for fear of a possible agitation in the future to carry out on our initiation a thoroughly sound and much deserved change, whereas in the case of the Oriyas, so well known [redacted] a 'non-agitating people' in the words of Lord Curzon, the burden of the proof for union was laid on them and they were required to produce 'accumulated evidence'. And Lord Hardinge, the author of the new province of Behar and Orissa who was so sympathetic to the aspirations of the people of Behar, in reply to the monster memorial, referred to above, of the Oriyas of Ganjam, roundly declared that the proposed union was "unnecessary and undesirable." It passes one's comprehension how what was once thought necessary and desirable at the time of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty became altogether unnecessary and undesirable nine years later in the eyes of Lord Hardinge. And yet it was

found by him so necessary and desirable to tack on Orissa to Behar for the purpose of providing to the latter ■ sea-board, to the utter disregard of the separate and legitimate interests of the people of Orissa! Curious sea-board, indeed, when no attempts worth the name have been made to materialise the idea, so far, of utilising it in opening ports and harbours!

Undeterred by this attitude of Lord Hardinge, yet encouraged by the sympathetic reply in Parliament of Mr. Montagu, the community went on agitating in their own way for the much desired union. In April 1912, at Berhampur the Utkal Union Conference held its eighth annual sessions and resolved to make Ganjam the centre of national activity for the ensuing year. A resolution was adopted thanking, for support of the Oriya cause, four members of Parliament who had expressed their willingness to do what they could for the community. One of them wrote to say, "I sympathise with your feeling, you have got a good case and we will try best." Another said, "I will try for amalgamation." Since 1912 the Oriyas of Ganjam waited in deputation on successive Governors of Madras, Lords Carmichael and Pentland. The latter in the course of a reply to an address presented to him at Berhampur by the Oriya Samaj of Ganjam in December 1913 said that, "unless conditions change and unless new arguments of weight are produced, I can hold out no hope to you of the question being reopened." The Governor committed himself

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to no definite statement at all. What he said is a mere paraphrase, of what the Under-Secretary of State had said in Parliament the previous year.

After the creation of the new province of Behar and Orissa, definite promises were made that the interests of Orissa which had been more or less overlooked when under the Bengal administration, would be specially safeguarded under the new conditions now brought into being. Sir Charles Bailey, once Lieutenant-Governor of the new province, like Lord Crewe, during a tour in Orissa, declared that half the attention of the Government of the province would be devoted to Oriya interests. But in effect, the Oriyas know what this 'half' of the share of attention meant. In a variety of ways, their interests have been overlooked.

In July 1917, Mr. E. S. Montagu, now Secretary of State for India in the course of a debate on the Mesopotamia Commission drew a glowing picture of a federated India in the House of Commons in the following terms : "I — the great self-governing dominions and provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great principalities, the existing principalities and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and principalities federated by one central government." This is a remarkable pronouncement of a would-be Secretary of State. This served to hold out the bright prospect to the Oriyas of an administrative union so eagerly cherished by them. The

declaration of this principle followed by the appointment of Mr. Montagu — Secretary of State for India and his famous announcement in the month of August of the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India and of his coming over to India to discuss during the succeeding months with representative bodies afforded — opportunity to the Oriyas to lay the facts of their case before him. Mr. Montagu when in the country not only consulted various shades of opinion on the subject of Responsible Government of India but questions vitally affecting the political well-being of the communities inhabiting the land. In the twelfth annual sittings of the Utkal Union Conference at Balasore in December 1916, a committee of the following seven members, called the Utkal Union Committee, was formed with a view to collect materials and carry on continuous executive work of the Conference regarding the union of the Oriya-speaking tracts throughout the year :—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E.
2. The Hon'ble Raja of Kanika.
3. Sreejut Harihar Panda,
Secretary, Oriya Samaj, Ganjam.
4. The Hon'ble Babu Brajasundar Das.
5. The Hon'ble Gopabandhu Das.
6. Rai Sudam Charan Naik, Bahadur.
7. The Hon'ble Raja of Seragada, Ganjam.

This Committee prepared — address with a memorandum of arguments, and a statement, and map, of the Oriya tracts [see Appendix D]. On Decem-

ber 11th (1917) this Committee waited in deputation on Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford at Calcutta ; and the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das and the Raja of Kanika had interviews with the two distinguished statesmen. These carefully prepared documents contained a refutation of adverse arguments against the union and advanced ~~many~~ unchallengeable ones in favour of it.

During the same month a mass meeting of over 7,000 Oriyas at Calcutta was held to reaffirm the desirability of the administrative union of the several Oriya-speaking tracts. Commenting on this unique assembly at Calcutta, the *A. B. Patrika* remarked : "It was a mass meeting in every sense unprecedented in the history of the Oriyas of Calcutta, the special feature being the active and enthusiastic support with which the labouring classes carried the resolution for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts." At this time, meetings of a similar nature attended by thousands of people were held at Cuttack, Puri, Berhampur, and other places.

Almost synchronous with the presentation of the address of the Utkal Union Conference to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, was started an English weekly newspaper, *The Oriya*, under the auspices of the Utkal Union Committee, which has been already alluded to, to work for the administrative union of the Oriya tracts and help to educate public opinion thereon.

The following February (6-2-18) saw the Hon'ble

Mr. B. N. Sarma of the Telugu country moving in the Imperial Legislative Council a resolution regarding the redistribution of provincial areas on the basis of language, to which not a single member took exception on grounds of principle. Though many opposed the measure on grounds of expediency, they drew particular attention of the Council to the special condition of the Oriyas. The mover himself in more than one place during the course of his speech dilated at length on the unhappy lot of the Oriyas who were scattered in no less than four provincial administrations.

On the 30th and 31st of March the Utkal Union Conference held its thirteenth annual sessions at Cuttack and constituted ■ standing council of 65 members from all parts of Natural Orissa for carrying out the work of the Conference in a business-like manner.

During the early part of the following July the expectant Indian public saw the publication of *The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, the joint production of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. The Report devoted a paragraph or two to the subject of the division of provinces on a language basis, and while conceding the soundness and desirability of such a distribution of areas, suggested the formation of what they called provincial states or sub provinces for such uniform linguistic or racial areas of provinces to be constituted after the Constitutional Reforms proposed by them. The authors of

the Report, therefore (para 246), "desire that it should be recognised — one of the earliest duties incumbent upon all the reformed provincial governments to test provincial opinion upon schemes directed to this end." They, however, emphasise the nature of the Oriya problem by suggesting as ■ exceptional measure that, "in Orissa and Berar at all events it seems to — that the possibility of instituting sub-provinces need not be excluded from consideration at a very early date." Though the *Reforms Report* thus recognised the desire of the Oriya-speaking people regarding their administrative union, it held out only ■ distant hope of a separate province for them when it suggested the formation of a sub province for their needs ; for, according to the authors of the Report (see paras. 245—246) : "As the State Councils developed.....until finally the provincial governments disappeared, and the future polity of British India was represented by a series of States enjoying Responsible Government."

The address presented to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford the previous December, to which obviously this mention of the Oriya problem is due, took care to ask that "the administrative union of the Oriya tracts may be a necessary preliminary to the projected Reforms." But the flat suggestion that the formation of provincial linguistic units should neither precede nor accompany but only follow Constitutional Reform raises the grave fear in the hearts of all the Oriya-speaking people if they will at all secure ■

Orissa complete and united in itself — sketched out in the Montagu address, since such a reform will depend upon the nature and personnel of the reformed provincial governments concerned, in all of which the Oriyas stand in — hopeless minority without a hope of influencing any decision in their favour against contending forces. But any success in their national endeavour depends upon the determined stand which the community might make before the bar of provincial legislatures and governments.

On September 13th in a special sitting, of the non-official members of the Legislative Council of Behar and Orissa, which was convened to discuss the proposed reforms so far as they affected the province, some Honourable members from Orissa expressed a desire that the question of constituting a sub-province out of the Oriya-speaking tracts, referred to in the latter part of para. 246 of the Report, should be discussed. But the Beharee president of the day's meeting, the Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam ruled the suggestion out of order.

A special session of the Utkal Union Conference was summoned during the month to discuss the Report on Constitutional Reforms proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. On the 22nd the following resolutions relating to the question of Oriya administrative union were moved :

1. "That while thanking the Right Honourable Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy of India for recognising the necessity and importance of

the principle of constituting homogeneous administrative units on the basis of language and race which the Oriya-speaking people have been urging for many years past, this Conference places on record its deep sense of disappointment in finding no definite provision in the Report for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration, and is of opinion that unless the desired amalgamation precedes or accompanies the Reforms, the Oriyas will not only be deprived of the benefits of the scheme itself but will also be placed under serious disadvantages owing to their being in the minority under several existing administrations."

2. "Believing as it does in the sympathetic recognition of the special claims of the Oriyas for ■ separate administration as evidenced by the illustrious authors of the scheme in their proposal for constituting a sub province for Orissa, this Conference desires to place on record its conviction that unless ■ separate province under ■ Governor-in-Council and ■ legislative assembly with an elected non-official majority be given to the united Oriya-speaking tracts, the proper solution of the question cannot be satisfactorily reached and the legitimate aspirations of the people concerned cannot be fulfilled."

The question of constituting ■ sub province for Orissa on the lines indicated by para. 246 of the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* was pursued both in the Legislative Council of Behar and Orissa and in the Imperial Legislative Council. On 28-11-48,

the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das of Cuttack interpellated the Behar and Orissa Government on this subject. The questions as well as the answers are reproduced below :—

Q. (a) Has the attention of Government been invited to an article headed "Orissa ■ ■ sub-province" in *The Oriya* of 2nd October 1918?

Q. (b) Does the Government propose to consider the question of "instituting ■ sub-province" in Orissa "at a very early date as suggested in the last two sentences of paragraph 246 of the "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms" by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India?

A. (a) The attention of the Government has been drawn to the article in question.

A. (b) Government are considering what action should be taken in the matter. In their opinion, however, the last sentence of paragraph 246 of the Report must be read in the light of the preceding sentences.

It was definitely known that the Provincial Government made a definite move in the matter and was communicating with the Government of India on the subject. On 7-3-19 when the Hon'ble Raja of Kanika interpellated the Government of India in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject, the following answers were got :—

Q. (a) Have Government taken any steps for the creation of a sub province of Orissa to give effect to

the recommendation contained in paragraph 246 of the Report on Constitutional Reforms?

(b) If not do Government propose to ask the Local Government to frame a scheme for that purpose at ■ early date and publish it for expression of public opinion on the subject?

REPLY—The Hon'ble member seems to have misunderstood the recommendation in paragraph 246 of the Report which is that the possibility of constituting Orissa as ■ separate sub-province should be considered by the Local Government after the introduction of the Reforms. The Government of India have advised the Local Government that this question should not be considered until the reformed Provincial Government has been constituted.

Now, the proposal by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford of sub provinces embodies two distinct ideas—first, the formation of units based on uniformity of language, and secondly the bestowing on such units included in ■ bigger provincial area a measure of Responsibility by transferring to their legislative and administrative jurisdiction what they call the "transferred" subjects. What is of prime moment to the Oriyas is the formation of a homogeneous linguistic unit foreshadowed in this proposal. When the authors of the Report, therefore, suggest that the question of constituting a sub-province out of Orissa should be taken up at ■ very early date, though necessarily after the Reforms, they imply the distribution of the Oriya area ■ a preliminary. If the Honourable

members had only seized this unique opportunity to press for linguistic distribution as a preliminary to the Reforms, ■ measure which the Government of India in accordance with an Act of Parliament has the power to give effect to, a good advance might have been made. And soon after the introduction of the Reforms, the question of the sub province also might be pressed upon the attention of the Government.

In this connection, it will be of much interest to note that in response to ■ circular letter issued by the Government of India to the provinces on the subject of constitutional reforms, the Madras Government in its letter No. 1104—A, dated Fort St. George the 10th December 1918 from the Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter, I.C.S., Ag. Chief Secretary, to the Secretary to the Government of India Home Department, wrote (para. 4): "In this connection I am to invite attention to Mr. Davidson's letter No. 59, dated 17th January 1918, in which the adoption of a scheme of sub provincial councils was advocated. His Excellency in Council continues to prefer this arrangement to the one advocated in the Report, ■ he believes it would enable men of local weight to come forward and make their influence felt, would afford training ground which is so much needed, would retain the ultimate control of legislation and power of the purse with ■ united Government and would introduce real responsibility at once." [See p. 146, Government of India Despatch of March 5, 1919, on Indian Constitutional Reforms.] The Behar and Orissa Govern-

ment also wrote [*Ibid*] in its letter No. 4110—P, dated Ranchi, the 10th November 1918, through the Hon'ble Mr. H. Macpherson, I.C.S., Chief Secretary, to the Government of India, Home Department (para. 6): "The politicians of Orissa concentrate their attention on the claims of Orissa to ■ separate provincial administration and to the reunion with the parent stock of all Oriya-speaking tracts which are now included in the adjacent provinces. The reference to this subject in paragraph 246 of the Report is not considered adequate ; and in particular it is represented that the question of redistribution of areas in the ■ of Oriya-speaking population should be taken up before and not after the provincial governments ■ constituted on the reformed basis now proposed." And again continues (para. 28): "The question raised at the end of paragraph 246 of constituting Orissa ■ ■ sub province will be dealt with separately." These letters reveal to what extent the provincial governments are in sympathy with the aspirations of the people. With suitable education of the public mind on the question, much could be achieved in the direction.

In pursuance of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, two committees were appointed towards the end of 1918 to make recommendations on (1) the question of Franchise and (2) Imperial and Provincial subjects, and Division of Functions in the Provincial Government. The Utkal Union Conference on being invited by the Behar and Orissa Government sent two

of its representatives to be examined at Bankipore and presented a memorandum demanding reservation of 25 for Orissa out of 80 elective seats proposed for the provincial legislative council, and 3 out of 120 elective seats in the Indian Legislative Assembly for the Oriya tracts of the four provinces, the Oriya members of the provincial councils forming into an electorate for the purpose. The Conference also proposed for their respective legislative councils 6 seats for the Oriyas in Madras, 1 in Bengal for Oriyas in the province, and 1 in the Central Provinces —all these seats being reserved in plural constituencies with a general electoral roll. These suggestions were made in view of the fact that the Oriya people are in a minority in every province and that their legitimate claims are being uniformly overlooked.

The Utkal Hitaishini Samaj of Parlakimedi in Ganjam which likewise gave evidence to the Committees in Madras in January 1919 while emphasising the specially acute nature of territorial dismemberment of the Oriya country, demanded a special electorate for the Oriyas in Madras to return 8 Oriya members from the electorate and 2 zamindar members from the electorate and 2 zamindar¹. The Samaj proposed 6 members to be returned to the Indian Legislative Assembly in the manner suggested by the Utkal Union Conference. To the Council of State the Samaj suggested sending one elected and one landholder nominated member, the former elected by the members representing Oriya

tracts in the respective provincial councils. The Oriya District Association of Ganjam also submitted a memorandum on similar lines.

The reports of these Committees (The Southborough Committees) together with the views of local governments of Madras, Behar and Orissa were published in May 1919. These were entirely disappointing.

For the Orissa Division the committees proposed :

Non-Muhammadan Urban Seat	...	1
,, Rural Seats	...	7
Muhammadan Rural Seat	...	1
Landholder	...	1
	—	—
Total	...	10
	—	—

None of the European, Planting, Mining and University seats can come to Orissa under the present circumstances. No Muhammadan urban seat has been allotted to Orissa. Thus, out of 73 elective seats in the Council, Orissa gets 10, which works out at 13·7%. In the existing council, out of 21 elective seats Orissa has $3\frac{1}{2}$ i.e., 16·7% seats. A progressive proposal indeed! Whereas no less than six districts in Behar get more than 2 non-Muhammadan rural seats each, no district in the Orissa Division has that privilege—not even Cuttack, the most important ^{an Pro-} _{Council} among them all, and it gets only as many seats as Balasore and Puri which stand on a markedly inferior level ⁸ respect of population. And then, Angul ⁹ 7

stands on ■ par with the Agency tracts of Ganjam, Vizagpatam, and Godavari districts in Madras which are together allotted 2 seats, does not find even ■ mention in this Franchise scheme.

This apparently is the ultimate reward of joining Orissa with Behar without its consent! And yet it was openly proclaimed at the time of the formation of the new province both in England and India that half the attention would be paid to the interests of Orissa, in the new province. The Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa, Sir Edward Gait, says on the subject of the representation of the Orissa Division that "experience in the past had shown that the interests of the Oriyas were not neglected, and it had hitherto been freely recognised that conditions in Orissa were different from those obtaining elsewhere in the province," and promises, "that the Local Government were prepared to give one more seat than they had in their scheme." In spite of even this concession the number of seats finally allotted for Orissa is quite inadequate in consideration of its population, and other grounds. Leaving out for the moment the very important consideration of the peculiar position of Orissa in the body politic of the province, it has at least to be recognised that Orissa is one of the five divisions in the province, ~~Cot~~ us being entitled to 20% of the 73 elective seats elect 14·6 or 15 seats.*

^{former} appended statement will make clear the injustice done

For Singbhum the Committee allots one rural non-Muhammadan seat ; but though the Oriyas form the majority in the district, the Bengalees or the Hindi-speaking people will certainly snatch it away, on account of the artificial position of prominence which they occupy.

It is recommended that in Madras the Ganjam District should be allotted 2 non-Muhammadan rural seats. The Report mentions that H. E. Lord Pentland "stated that the Oriyas were chiefly to be found in Ganjam, where they would have considerable voting power. Regard must be had to their claims in settling the boundaries of the constituencies in this district, and if this was done, they would have more than a fair chance of securing a seat." This is indeed a very bright prospect ! As things are at present, the Oriyas were getting ■ representative nominated to the Madras Council out of a total of 42 elected and nominated members. Thus, even maintaining this proportion, the Oriyas ought to return at least three representatives in consideration of the 20 seats proposed ■ the strength of the Council, after the division of the district of Ganjam into

Given when the recommendations regarding Assam and
are taken into account :

	Male population in thousands	Estimated number of Voters in thousands	Rural non- Muhammadan seats in the Pro- vincial Council
m	2,170	(not given)	18.
	1,331	36	10
	1,248	59	7

constituencies, the Oriyas do not have ■ surety of any representation at all by the suggested doubtful means of general election, whereas the prevailing process of nomination by which a member was returned had no danger involved in it. Under the circumstances, the best course should have been to enfold the Oriyas of the province into a separate electorate, or at least, as suggested by the Utkal Union Conference, to reserve for them ■ definite member of seats with ■ general electoral roll. Further, it is difficult to understand the justice of allotting less number of seats to Ganjam in comparison with the strength of the male population than in many of the other districts, such as Godavari, Krishna, Cuddur, Nellore, Chingleput, North Arcot etc., which obtain, comparatively speaking, ■ number of seats, quite disproportionate to the strength of its male population. The principle in the distribution of seats so far at least ■ the Oriyas are concerned, especially in view of their peculiar position in the presidency, ought emphatically to have been the best possible representation of the people rather than of electors possessing definite property qualifications. It is on account of this fear that the Oriyas had urged on the attention of the Franchise Committee a substantial lowering of the property qualification of a voter, a suggestion which has been flagrantly overlooked. As regards representation of zamindars, Ganjam zamindars who are all Oriyas occupying no insignificant position ■ the district, are included ■ the

constituency of Ganjam, Virzagpatam, and Godavari districts, and will, therefore, hardly have ■ chance of returning ■ representative of their own to the Council. And the Oriya zamindari of Jeypore in the Vizagpatam Agency, the largest zamindari in the whole presidency is included under the "excluded" area having no representation from the electorate. The Report has suggested the formation of constituencies for landholders other than zamindars, and also for Indian Christians—clearly admitted in the latter case to have been based on uniform language-area. And Ganjam which only forms one of eleven districts of the constituency will invariably go unrepresented. The people of Ganjam will be represented by the landholder or Christian candidate to whom they will give their votes and who will invariably be ■ member of the Telugu districts and one of the Telugu nationality. By far the better arrangement would have been the inclusion of the Oriya landholders and the Oriya Indian Christians of the district in the general non-Muhammadan rural electorate. But the best course would have been to concede a separate electorate, including them, for the Oriyas of the two districts, plain and agency, of Ganjam and Vizagpatam. Partly on the ground of the numerical strength of the Oriya-speaking people of the presidency which is 2,129,145 (1911)*, and partly

* The census figure for Ganjam Oriyas as will be explained in Appendix C is ■ clear error; and these figures include the

because of the peculiar position of the Oriya race, though in ■ minority in the body politic of the province, the Utkal Union Conference and the Utkal Hitaishini Samaj in order to safeguard the special interests of the Oriyas which have been till now damaged mercilessly by their opponents and unwittingly by the Government, suggested 6 and 10 seats respectively for the Oriyas of Madras. Even if we consider only the case of the Oriya-speaking people inhabiting the two adjoining districts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam whose total population would be 2,061,819*, on considerations of their mere proportion in the total population of the presidency, they would be entitled to ■ less than 6 seats. Instead of this, they have only the possible chance left to them of securing one elective seat. Even this is not reserved for them in the manner suggested in para 232 of the M. C. Report. In this connection we would recall the reply of Lord Pentland on 9-12-13 to an address of the Oriyas of Ganjam at Berhampur, when he rejected the prayer for the formation of ■ special electorate of the Oriyas of the presidency, on account of the small number of the Oriyas concerned—, as if special electorates are needed for safeguarding the interests of major units of a province. This is ■ particularly strange principle when we remember the fact that the Franchise Report confers special

Oriya population of the Ganjam District, which is nearest accuracy.

representation to small sections of the people such as Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The arrangement proposed to be made in favour of Indian Christians of the presidency by allotting 3 elective seats for a population of only 1,137,208 souls with all the attendant difficulties of organising constituencies throughout the province appears incongruous, when a community like the Oriyas who number far larger than the Indian Christians inhabiting more or less a contiguous area of the province are given but the possible chance of an elective seat.

The Utkal Union Conference proposed a seat to be reserved for the sake of the Oriya tracts of Midnapore and another to be reserved for the Oriyas of the Central Provinces, each in its respective provincial council, in accordance with para. 232 of the M. C. Report. On the ground of their numerical strength and also by reason of the fact that by the process suggested by the Franchise Committee, an independent racial unit will otherwise go unrepresented, the representation — suggested by the Conference would have been salutary. But even a nominated seat has not been provided in these Oriya tracts. Are they in reality so insignificant that they do not deserve the consideration which the Domiciled Bengalees and others in Behar and Orissa have been given, scattered — they are, unlike the former, throughout the province?

The result of these recommendations will be seen in the final text of the Reform Bill.

May God help Orissa !*



* The latter portion of the present section deals rather elaborately with the Southborough Report. In consideration of the importance of the question of Franchise, ■ need not apologise to the reader for it.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES OF THE ORIYA COUNTRY, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

The demand of the Oriyas for a united Orissa is made on the basis of population. It is proposed that having regard to contiguity of territory, all the Oriya-speaking tracts should be brought under one administration, so that the resultant province or territory may involve, so far as is possible, the least amount of inconvenience to races or communities included under it. In demarcating the boundaries of such a natural Orissa, due consideration is given also as to what tribe is assimilable and what is not. For purposes of a historical explanation it is important to point out here the changes which have occurred in the boundaries of the Oriya country in different periods of its history. For obvious reasons, the fluctuations in mere territory under Orissan or other sovereignty which might come under our consideration, have been left out of account.

THE FIRST STAGE.

The earliest known boundaries of the Oriya country appear to be marked by Tamluk on the north and the valley of the Rushikulya on the south. According to Sterling, "the Puranic division of Utkala

Desa reached on the north to Tamluk and Midnapore, taking in a portion of Rathdes in Bengal, and south to the Rasikuila or Rasikoila Nadi which flows into the sea at Ganjam. On the east it was bounded by the ocean and the river Hooghly, and on the west by Sonepur, Bonay, and other dependencies of Sambalpore and Gondwana." The fact of Tamralipta or Tamluk being the northern boundary of Utkala or Orissa is borne out by references in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. According to the mythological accounts of the Matsya Purana and the Srimadbhagavat it would appear that Utkala existed at a period far anterior to the founding of the Kalinga kingdom, a distinct entity by itself including within it the southern Dandakaranya [Vide R. N. Sarangi's articles in the "Satyabadi", vols. II and III]. Gradually, however, especially since the advent of Gautama Buddha, Utkala "maintaining ■ before its distinctive character" would seem according to Mr. M. M. Ganguly [see 'Orissa and Her Remains'] to have come "to be indiscriminately called Kalinga ; it lost its identity gradually and its existence merged in that of Kalinga." Accordingly Pliny states that the northern boundary of the Kalinga kingdom was the Ganges and that it included the Macco Callinga which formed a portion of the Madras Presidency near the Godavari. The editor of the District Gazetteer of Puri likewise asserts that the Kalinga kingdom extended southward from the confluence of the Ganges with the sea. By about the fifth century of

the Christian era the Oriya kingdom under the name of Orissa would seem to have emerged once more ■ ■ unit distinct from Kalinga which survived in men's minds ■ a country pertaining more to mythology and tradition than to historical fact | so much ■ that Mr. Ganguly asserts, "so late ■ the end of the sixteenth century Orissa used to be thought at least ■ part of if not conterminous with Kalinga".

THE SECOND STAGE.

The second important stage in Orissan history is marked generally by the Ganga-vansa or the Gangetic Dynasty. During this period "Orissa coincided more or less with the Kalinga of ancient times [See Aini-i-Akbari p. 17], and its boundaries obtained ■ fair fixity in the Ganges towards the north and the Godavari on the south with territorial expansions farther into Gaud on the north and Telingana and Carnata on the south. This was the hey-day of Orissan prosperity, and the language and literature alike of the people held sway over a vast territory. Even distant Kondavidu in the Kristna District was held by Oriya governors, and cases are on record when the Oriya monarchs went still further to places ■ south ■ Conjevaram on military expeditions. The monarchs of this period were each entitled, "Lord of nine millions.....sovereign of Gaud and Karnata." "Their dominions extended from ■ line drawn from Tribeni Ghat above Hugli through Bishenpur to the frontier of Patkum on the north, and the Godavari on the

THE THIRD STAGE.

The third and the final marked change noticeable in the extent of the country reduced the Oriya-speaking territory to its present dimensions. The great anomaly in the present demarcation of what is known as political Orissa and the real Oriya country is very characteristic. The Subarnarekha river with slight variations represents the northern boundary of

the modern province, while the southern boundary is drawn from about the middle of the Chilka Lake. In this connection, Stirling says, "very early after the settlement of Emperor Akbar, if not indeed at the moment of its formation, the sircar of Rajamundry and that portion of Kalinga Des which lies to the south of Tekkali Raghunathpur were dismembered from Orissa by the successful encroachments of the Mohammedan kings of Golconda called the Kuttab Shahis.....at the opening of Mohammed Tachi Khan's administration A.D. 1726, who governed as the Naib or Deputy of the Nizam of the three provinces, the most authentic revenue records exhibit the Subah of Orissa as extending from a place called Radha Dewl 7 ■■■ by 85 coss." He continues, "*the officers of Hyderabad intriguing with the powerful zamindars (poligats) of the Ganjam district contrived to alienate from the province the whole of the country south of the Chilka Lake.....On the Bengal side views of financial convenience induced the Nawab Shuja Uddin Mohammad Khan to annex the Mahals included in the old Jellalore Sircar as far as the Subarnarekha, to the territory immediately dependent on the Murshidabad Government with the exception of Pergunnahs Pattaspur, etc. It was thus bounded by the Subarnarekha and Pergunnah Pattaspur, etc. north, and by the Chilka Lake on the south, east by the ocean and west by the Betumal Pass.*" (Italics ours.) In this condition the province passed into the hands of the Mahrattas and half a century later into

those of the British almost without any territorial changes. Dr. Mitra says [See his "Antiquities of Orissa"] of what he calls the Oriya dialect: "A little before the East India Company assumed dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the northern boundary was the south of the Rupnarayan river.....it is up to that line that the Oriya dialect was always current until pressed back to the bank of the Subarnarekha, when Midnapore was transferred to the Commissionership of Burdwan". (Italics ours). The contention of the Oriyas in regard to the natural boundary of the Oriya country on the south is supported among others by Lassen who in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* places the linguistic boundary at Chicacole. Dr. Hunter alive to the difficulties which the Oriya language contends against in the district of Ganjam thinks that the linguistic change begins to be distinctively felt a little north of Chicacole, and regrets that, "the Telugu of the courts and state schools is gradually pushing it northward". He tells us that "the Oriya language held its own for centuries almost to the walls of Kalingapatam itself". Sterling also says, "in the prosperous days of the Orissan monarchy and that too at no very remote period it comprised within its limits four of our modern zillahs entire, and portions of three others viz., Midnapore, Ganjam, and Vizagpatam with parts of the Jungle Mahals, Hooghly, and Rammundry, besides a portion of the hills and woodland country of Gondwana".

Mr. Grierson in his "Linguistic Survey of India"

Vol. V. Part ii, while demarcating the Oriya-speaking country says, "on the east Oriya is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. On the north, its boundary, to the east, coincides with the river Haldi which here forms at the same time the northern boundary of the Contai sub-division of Midnapur. It then turns north-west along the river Kalighai, as far as the district of Bankura — to include in the Oriya-speaking area the four Midnapur Police circles Dantan, Gopiballabh-pur, Jhargao, and Binpur. It next turns back along the eastern boundary of the Singbhum district leaving the side of that district which is known as Dhalbhum in possession of Bengali. Thereafter it follows the common boundary of Singbhum and the Native State of Mayurbhanj as far as the state of Seraikala where it again turns north and — the Singbhum district up to its northern boundary being stopped by the elevated plateau along the southern boundary of Ranchi district till it meets the State of Jashpur, which it crosses — to include the southern portion of that State in the Oriya area. It then turns south along the boundary between that State and the State of Udaipur, across the States of Raigarh and Sarangarh and the districts of Sambalpur and Raipur and along the boundary between the Jayapur agency of Vizagpatam and the State of Bastar to — Dindiki where it turns east, across Vizagpatam and Ganjam and joins the seacoast near Baruva, a small port in the latter district." This statement is not, however, wholly correct. Besides minor changes here and there, in

the Midnapore District — the north, the police thana of Narayangarh in the Sadar sub-division is also to be included in the Oriya area. Again, though the Oriya zamindaries of Chandrapur, Padmapur and Malkhorda in the Bilaspur district on the west are obviously included in Mr. Grierson's computation, it is clear that the zamindaries of Tarla and Tekkali in the Ganjam District on the south are wrongly excluded therefrom while fixing the southern boundary of the Oriya country, so that the revenue taluk of Chicacole alone in the Ganjam District should remain beyond its southern limit.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF ORISSA— POLITICAL.

In this chapter we shall deal with the political divisions and their administration, of not only what is known ■ Orissa but also of the outlying Oriya-speaking tracts scattered in the neighbouring provincial administrations.

I.—THE PRESENT ORISSA.

The portion of the Oriya country which now goes by the name of Orissa includes one of the five divisions, of that name, in the province of Behar and Orissa, and twenty-four Feudatory States which are held by Oriya chiefs under the guidance of ■ Political Agent who exercises supervision on behalf of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division.

i.—THE ORISSA DIVISION consists of the five following districts, of which Angul is ■ scheduled or non-regulation district :

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. Cuttack. | 3. Angul. | 5. Sambalpur. |
| 2. Balasore. | 4. Puri. | |

The Angul district is under a Deputy Commissioner immediately subordinate to the Political Agent to the Feudatory States. It is divided into two subdivisions, the Sadar and the Kandhmals, each again

under ■ sub-divisional officer with Headquarters at Angul and Phulbani respectively, the Sadar sub-division, however, being helped also by ■ Deputy Collector.

The other four districts are divided into sub-divisions thus :—

I. Cuttack—

1. Sadar.
2. Kendrapara.
3. Jajpur.

II. Balasore—

1. Sadar.
2. Bhadrak.

III. Puri—

1. Sadar.
2. Khurda.

IV. Sambalpur—

1. Sadar.
2. Bargarh.

Each of the districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri is under ■ Collector and District Magistrate. The Puri District is divided into two sub-divisions with Headquarters at Puri and Khurda. The former is under the direct supervision of the Collector helped by three Deputy Collectors, and the latter is in charge of a Sub-Divisional Officer assisted by a Deputy Collector. Sambalpur is under a Deputy Commissioner, and is divided into two sub-divisions with Headquarters at Sambalpur and Bargarh. The former sub-division is under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner assisted by three Deputy Collectors, while Bargarh is in charge of ■ Sub-Divisional Officer who is one of the Deputy Collectors stationed at Sambalpur.

ii.—The following are THE FEUDATORY STATES OF ORISSA :—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Atagarh. | 13. Tigiria. |
| 2. Talcher. | 14. Nayagarh. |
| 3. Mayurbhanj. | 15. Ranpur. |
| 4. Nilgiri. | 16. Daspalla. |
| 5. Keonjhar. | 17. Baud. |
| 6. Pal Lahara. | 18. Bamra. |
| 7. Dhenkanal. | 19. Rairakhol. |
| 8. Athmallik. | 20. Sonepur. |
| 9. Hindol. | 21. Patna. |
| 10. Narsingpur. | 22. Kalahandi. |
| 11. Baramba. | 23. Gangpur. |
| 12. Khandpara. | 24. Bonai. |

"The Chiefs administer their States in accordance with provisions of their *sanads* which define their status, positions and powers.....

"The actual powers exercised by the Chiefs vary ; in some states the power of imprisonment extends to two years, and all —— of heinous crime are committed to British officers for trial : in other States the Chiefs exercise full criminal powers, except that in the —— of capital sentences the records of the case are submitted for confirmation by the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. The Chiefs, however, —— not entitled to try offences in which Europeans —— concerned.....

".....Those states which do not exercise full criminal powers, commit all —— which they —— not

entitled to try to ■ British officer: for the disposal of these cases the district officers of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, (Midnapur), Sambalpur, and Angul and the Political Agent exercise the powers of Sessions Judges, over whom is the Commissioner of Orissa, exercising the function of ■ High Court."

—Bengal Gazetteers,
Feudatory States of Orissa, 1910.

II.—OUTLYING ORIYA TRACTS.

(i)—IN THE PROVINCE OF BEHAR AND ORISSA.

(a) *Singbhumi District in the Chota Nagpur Division.*

The Singbhumi District is ■ non-regulation district under a Deputy Commissioner helped by three Deputy Magistrates all sitting at Chaibasa. The Government estate of Kolhan is mostly peopled by the Ho's under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner, Dhalbhum and Porahat are two permanently-settled estates of the district, the latter of which is mostly inhabited by the Bhuiyas, ■ people who are still found in states like Keonjhar.

(b) *Saraikala and Kharaswan.*

These two states were till recently under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of the Singbhumi District in Chota Nagpur Division, but were transferred in November 1916 to the control of the Political Agent of Orissa Feudatory States. Geographical conditions, it is said, have rendered it

impossible at present to transfer the states to the Orissa Division.

(ii)—IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

Midnapur District in the Burdwan Division.

The Oriya tracts in this district include the whole of Contai sub-division, one of the four sub-divisions of the district, and the five thanas of Jharagram, Binpur, Narayangarh, Dantan, and Gopiballabhpur of the Sadar sub-division. The Contai sub-division is in charge of a sub-divisional officer with Headquarters at Contai helped by a Deputy Collector. The area comprised by the five thanas of the Sadar sub-division is under the direct control of the Collector of the district.

(iii)—IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

(a) *Bilaspur and Raipur Districts in the Chatisgarh Division.*

In the Bilaspur District, the zamindaries of Chandrapur-Padmapur and Malkhorda are under the sub-divisional magistrate of the Janjgir Tahsil, one of the three sub-divisions of the district.

In the Raipur District, the zamindaries of Phuljharpur and Khariar are under the sub-divisional officer of Mahasamund Tahsil, one of the four sub-divisions in the district. In addition to the areas comprised by these two zamindaries, a few khalsa villages lying to the west within a distance of about a mile are also included in the Oriya area.

(b) The following are five *Oriya Feudatory States in the Province* :—

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Jashpur. | 4. Sarangarh. |
| 2. Udaipur. | 5. Bastar. |
| 3. Raigarh. | |

Of these, the states of Jashpur and Udaipur were transferred from Chota Nagpur when the latter was in Bengal, in 1905.

(iv)—IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(a) *Ganjam District including its Agency Tracts.*

The district is under a Collector with his headquarters at Chatrapore. It has five 'divisions' :—

1. *Balliguda Division*, co-extensive with the agency tracts bordering on the Orissa Khandmals. This is a non-regulation tract consisting of three revenue taluks, Balliguda, Udayagiri and Ramagiri, under a Special Assistant Agent who is subordinate to the Collector of Ganjam, in the latter's capacity as Agent to the Governor of Madras for the agency tracts. The Government records in this division are maintained solely in Oriya.
2. *Ghumsur Division*, comprising the taluks of Ghumsur and Aska and the sub-taluk of Surada. The division is under a Deputy Collector with Headquarters at Russell-

konda. The sole court language of the division is now Oriya.

3. *Chatrapur Division*, consisting of the taluks of Ganjam and Purushottampur. A Deputy Collector is placed over the administration of the division with his Headquarters at Chatrapore. The Collector of the district in response to popular demands once recommended for making Oriya the sole court language of this division. But the suggestion was unfortunately not accepted.
4. *Berhampur Division* contains three taluks, Berhampur, Ichapore, and Sompet. This division is under the charge of a Sub-Collector with Headquarters at Berhampur. In spite of several attempts, Oriya has not yet been made the sole court language in the division.
5. *Chicacole Division*. This division comprises the three taluks of Parlakimedi, Tekkali, and Chicacole, and is under ■ Sub-Collector with Headquarters at Chicacole. It is the Chicacole revenue taluk that is proposed to be left out in the grouping of the Orissan tracts. The interests of the Oriyas in Tekkali and Parlakimedi taluks are very much neglected, and their sufferings are manifestly more acute than their brothers in the taluks of Berhampur or Chatrapore divisions.

Thus, out of thirteen taluks in the district, the Telugu taluk of Chicacole alone is under the present computation to be left under Madras administration.

(b) *Vizagpatam Agency.*

Vizagpatam Agency is divided into the following fifteen taluks :—

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Bissumcuttack. | 9. Viravilli. |
| 2. Gunupur. | 10. Parvatipur. |
| 3. Jeypore. | 11. Palkonda. |
| 4. Koraput. | 12. Salur. |
| 5. Malkangiri. | 13. Srungavarapukota. |
| 6. Nowrangpur. | 14. Pottangi. |
| 7. Padwa. | 15. Rayagada. |
| 8. Golkonda. | |

Of these, Golkonda, Viravilli, Parvatipur, Palkonda, Salur, and Srungavarapukota taluks are partly included in the plain area of the Vizagpatam District.

The whole Agency is a non-regulation tract and is under a Special Assistant Agent. The Koraput Agency Division is constituted into a District Board. The Jeypore zamindari includes the whole of this vast Koraput Division, also the Parvatipore Division with the exception of a small area in the latter. The Agency portions of the Salur and Parvatipore taluks are also to be included in the province of Orissa to be formed: 60% of the former agency tract speak various dialects which will yield in time to the

civilising influence of the Oriya language, while a part of Parvatipore taluk, the Narayanpatna muttah is already in the Oriya zamindari of Jeypore. The agency portions of Srungavarapukota, Palakonda, Golkonda, and Viravilli taluks, which ■ perhaps mostly Telugu, situated in the three other divisions of the district, are to be excluded. These, it should be remembered comprise only ■ small area ; for, the Jeypore zamindari alone is about 11,000 sq. miles in ■ while the whole agency area of the district is 12,621 sq. miles. The fact that the aboriginal tribes, both male and female, can speak in Oriya even in the most interior parts of the Agency, tends to the conclusion that they ■ Oriya-assimilating, ■ powerful argument why these aboriginal tribes should be included in the Oriya country.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE TERRITORIAL VIVISECTION OF ORISSA.

Political, ■ well ■ physical geography bears witness to the stress of the destructive forces through which ■ country has passed.—Para. 297 of the M. C. Report.

In Chap. I. it has been stated that the limits of the Oriya country included a part of Bengal on the north and Telingana and Carnata on the south before its political supremacy began to decline by about the latter half of the sixteenth century. We propose to discuss the stages by which its several co-lingual tracts got dismembered from one another and its territorial limits reduced to the present dimensions. With the Mussalmans invading from the north and the south and with civil disturbances and treachery at home, followed by internecine wars between the Moghuls and the Mahrattas, and the Mahrattas and the British, all compressed within ■ period of barely a century, the country could hardly remain intact amidst such disintegrating forces. By ■ cruel irony of fate one limb after another ■ severed from the main body of Orissa. Utter helplessness followed in every walk of life.

I.—MIDNAPORE IN BENGAL.

The Midnapore District was not only included in Kalinga when it was conquered by the great Mauryan King Asoka 261 B.C., but also formed a part and parcel of it when Kharavela, the monarch of that kingdom invaded Magadha and put its ruler to rout in 223 B.C. During the latter half of the Gupta and the early half of the Harsha Imperial sovereignties, the Kesari Dynasty of Orissa appears to have held domain over this tract of country. The occupation of this portion of the country by the Ganga kings of Orissa commenced when Choda Ganga Deo annexed it along with a portion of Bengal during the latter part of the eleventh century. Though the Mussalmans, four centuries later, pressed the Oriyas southward to the river Damodar, the latter held Midnapore with the Arambagh sub-division of the Hooghly District as the northern frontier of their kingdom. And the Oriya king Mukund Harichandan extended his conquests further into the Hooghly District up to the River Tribeni in the year 1568. But immediately after, the conquest of Orissa by Kalapahar followed, and Midnapore passed with the rest of the Oriya country into the hands of the Afghans.

During the Afghan rule also under Daud Khan and Katlu Khan, Midnapore was a part of Orissa and comprised most of what was then known as the Jalesar Sirkar. Under the Moghuls it continued to form part of the Orissa Subah, but during the

governorship of Shah Shujah (1646-1658), the Jalesar Sirkar, the Hijili tract of Orissa, was annexed to Bengal. "And it is for this reason alone that Hijili which by position belongs to Orissa, is now attached to Bengal"—Valentyn's Memoir 1661, quoted on p. 185, Midnapore District Gazetteer, 1911. When the Mahrattas took possession of the country in 1751 from Alivardi Khan, Orissa included the Parganas of Bhograi, Kamarda, Pataspur, and Shahbanda and a part of the present thana of Gopiballabhpur. In 1760, Nawab Mir Kasim Ali ceded to the British among other tracts the whole of the Midnapore District except the Pataspur Pargana which was in possession of the Mahrattas who held Orissa also. In accordance with a treaty concluded between the English and the Mahrattas, the latter ceded the Pataspur Pargana together with the rest of Orissa, and Pataspur thereafter formed part of the Midnapore District of Bengal.

Pargana Bhograi and two other Parganas of Hijili had been added to Balasore before 1886 ; and in 1870 Jalesar and its neighbourhood were also transferred to the latter district.

Latterly, there seem to have taken place slight adjustments of territory between the Midnapore and the Balasore districts, and this formed till recently the subject of virulent criticism in the Bengalee press at Calcutta.

II.—SINGHBHUM DISTRICT IN CHOTA NAGPUR.

The district is peopled on the north mainly by the Ho's and by the Bhuiyas on the south. It ~~was~~ formerly ruled by the Singh rajahs of Porahat or Singbhumi, the members of whose family held sway over Kharaswan and Saraikala tracts also. One tradition regarding the origin of these rajas says that a Rathore Rajput while on a pilgrimage to Lord Jagannath at Puri was chosen by the Bhuiya tribe as the raja. Yet another tradition relates that the Bhuiyas being hard pressed by the Ho's sent a message to Puri to obtain the help of the Rajput soldiers who had come to Orissa with Akbar's general, Mansingh. A great part of the district under the name of Jharkhand was left unconquered by the Mussalman invaders. And the jurisdiction of the Mahrattas never extended to Singbhumi.

In 1777, Jagannath Dhal, the Raja of Dhalbhum, in the eastern part of the district, was subdued, and his territory was permanently settled by the British conquerors in 1800. Dhalbhum was transferred to Manbhum in 1833, but in 1848 it was again transferred to Singbhumi. The Ho's of the Kolhan tract surrendered their territory to the British in 1821 and one of the important conditions of the treaty concluded with them insisted on their learning Oriya and Hindi. The whole of the Kolhan tract was annexed in 1836, and a British officer was stationed for its administra-

tion at Chaibasa. Four Ho pirs or divisions in Mayurbhanj also were during this disturbance added to Singhbhum.

The family of the Raja of Porahat was related to that of the Sambalpur family, and there was constant intercourse between the two districts. In 1857, when the Great Mutiny broke out, the Raja of Porahat, Arjun Singh joined the mutineers of Chaibasa and Ranchi against the British. The rajas of Saraikala and Kharaswan and the Raja of Kera, all helped the British during the crisis. Eventually the estate of Porahat was confiscated in 1858 ; and in 1892 the estate was included in the Singhbhum District.

SARAIKALA AND KHARASWAN.

Both these states were attached to the British from the very beginning of the latter's occupation of the neighbouring territories. In 1803 the Governor-General invited their assistance in the war against the Mahrattas. In 1832 the Thakur of Kharaswan helped the British in subduing a rising of the Bhuiya tribe. They were made subordinate in 1837 to the British officers stationed at Chaibasa. During the time of the Mutiny both the rajas helped the British in quelling disturbances in the district and were rewarded with lands out of the confiscated estate of the Porahat Raja. The Kunwar Chief of Saraikala subsequently assisted the Government during the Keonjhar disturbances of 1868, and the present chief Udit Narain

Singh Deo rendered assistance during the Bonai and Keonjhar risings in 1888 and 1891.

The district of Singhbhum underwent several vicissitudes of fortune as also Chota Nagpur in which it is included, and was successively placed under different provinces at different times according as it suited the immediate ends of the administration.

III.—ORIYA TRACTS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The Chandrapur-Padampur estate and the Malkhorda estate belong to the Sambalpur District. The British got the Padampur estate in 1800 from the Raja of Raigarh to whom it was previously granted by a Ranee of Sambalpur. In 1905 an area of 333 sq. miles consisting mainly of Chandrapur-Padampur and Malkhorda estates were transferred to the Central Provinces from the Sambalpur District when the latter was added to Bengal. These Oriya estates belong to the Janjgir Tahsil of the Bilaspur District.

The Oriya tracts in the Raipur District are Phuljharpur and Khariar zamindaries and a few khalsa villages which are in the Mahasamund Tahsil of the district. Khariar is under a Chauhan Chief who is descended from the royal family of the Patna State and is connected by marriage ties with the Jeypore Raj family of the Vizagpatam Agency in Madras. The Phuljharpur Zamindari was under the Chief of Raigarh before it was ceded to the British. It was trans-

ferred to this district from Sambalpur — a result of territorial arrangements made in 1905.

THE ORIYA TRIBUTARY STATES.

The states of Raigarh and Saranggarh belong to the group of Sambalpur Garjat Chiefs and were for a long time under the Sonepur and Sambalpur Maharras. In 1688 the Raja of Sambalpur had made a present of the Saranggarh state to a chief — a reward for military services. Phuljhar and Padampur were under Raigarh, the latter of which was presented to its chief by a former ruler of Sambalpur. The overlordship of Sambalpur was lost when the Mahrattas conquered these dominions in 1755. After the British appeared on the scene the Padampur Zamindari under Raigarh was ceded to them in accordance with a treaty concluded in 1800. The British Government further taking advantage of the adverse political condition of Sambalpur caused the chiefs of Saranggarh and Raigarh to declare their independence from Sambalpur, annexed their territories in 1818, and gave them separate sanads in 1821. In 1861 their management was transferred to the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, Cuttack. In 1862, however, these territories were transferred along with Sambalpur to the Central Provinces.

The Jashpur State was for a long time under Sonepur supremacy. Sujan Rai, the eldest son of a Sonepur Chief ousted Raiban, the Chief of Jashpur.

And it was only later that the Jashpur State became subordinate to the Mahrattas.

In the Udaipur State Oriya Brahmans officiate as priests in many of its zamindaries.

A tradition has it that ■ Raja Bir Kinhari Deb of Puri who was suffering from leprosy, after bathing in ■ tank in Sihawa, was cured of his disease and founded the State of Kanker. And it is still ■ custom there that ■ successor of the Kanker *gadi* is anointed by ■ Halbi Oriya Chief. An inscription found in the Sirpur temple is now deciphered and taken to mean that the famous Sirpur Dynasty was identical with the Soma-vamsi Kings of Cuttack, and ■ temple at Sihawa is still said to have been built by a raja from Jagannath.

The ruling family of Bastar is connected by blood and marriage ties with the raj families of Jeypore, Bamra, and Kanker. Besides pure Oriya speakers there are those in Bastar who speak Bhatri and Halbi, corrupt and dialectic forms of Oriya. Bastar and Kanker were independent states previous to 1755, when they were conquered by the Mahrattas.

RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES.

After the cession of the Sambalpur District by the Mahrattas, Sambalpur with other Tributary States was placed under the Agent of the Governor-General for the South-West Frontier which included the greater part of the Chota Nagpur Division. In 1860 it was transferred to the Orissa Division in Bengal.

But in 1862 it was made over to the newly constituted Central Provinces. In 1905 it was retransferred to the Province of Bengal with the exception of Chandrapur-Padampur, Phuljhar, Malkhorda, and ■ few khalsa villages. On the ■■■ occasion the states of Jashpur and Udaipur together with ■ few other states were transferred to the Central Provinces from Chota Nagpur in exchange for the five states of Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonepur, Patna, and Kalahandi transferred from the Central Provinces to Orissa. The states of Gangpur and Bonai were also during that year transferred from Chota Nagpur to Orissa. Few districts have experienced so many administrative changes ■ Sambalpur and though it is now with Orissa, the tracts of Chandrapur-Padampur, Phuljhar, Khariar, Raigarh, and Saranggarh which were under Sambalpur sovereignty during the native, Mahratta, and early British periods of administration still continue separated from it under the Central Provinces administration. [Vide pp. 22, 24, 26, and 30, Sambalpur District Gazetteer, 1909, on this subject.]

IV.—GANJAM DISTRICT AND VIZAGPATAM AGENCY.

The term Kalinga was anciently applied to the whole coast country extending from the Ganges to the Krishna. The deltaic region in the south bounded by the Godavari and the Krishna was known ■ Telengana, the southern part of Kalinga. Lassen says that northern Kalinga is Orissa and that Ganjam forms part

of the Oriya country. Rev. A. R. Symonds, M.A. in his book "Geography and History of India" 1859, says that the Oriyas or the people of Orissa were formerly separated from the Telingas by the Godawari and that the latter are the original inhabitants of the districts south of the Godawari—pp. 158—159. At p. 156 he gives a short history of Telingana which conclusively shows that Ganjam did not form a part of that country. In para. 2, p. 96, Ganjam District Manual, the author points out that the Kesari kings of Orissa said to have ruled Orissa for more than 600 years doubtless extended their sway over the neighbouring tract of Ganjam. The greatest expansion of Oriya territory was seen during the suzerainty of the Ganga-vansa Kings of Orissa who extended their dominions even to the Nellore District and the Cudappa Subahs on the south. [See the Nellore District Manual, John A. C. Boswell.] "According to local tradition Kangiri in Nellore District was taken by about the tenth century by Kakata Rudrudu of the Gajapati family who had the seat of their government at Cuttack" [*Ibid*] and was held together with Udayagiri by this family for 400 years. Charles Stewart Crole, the author of the Chingleput District Manual at one place, says that "in the middle of the fifteenth century the country was again over-run, and Conjevaram sacked by a large army sent by one of the Orissa kings of the Ganga Dynasty." The southern frontier of the Oriya Kingdom was for the first time disturbed by Prince Aluf Khan (Mahamud

Bin Tughlak) in his Deccan invasion in 1322. Under Nizam Sha Bahmuni and Mahmud Shah Bahmuni II efforts were made in 1462, 1471, and 1477 to conquer the areas of Kondapalli and Rajmundry from the Oriyas and thus to gain sole mastery over Telingana. Yet the Godavari River remained the southern boundary of the Oriya country. In 1478, however, the Oriya conquest again extended under Narasingh Rai, and his dominions included the lost possessions in Telingana and ■ part of Bijaynuggar. [Vide Brigg's *Ferishta* : 'Rise of the Mohammadan Power,' Vol. II., pp. 467, 488, 496, and 501.] In 1520 Sultan Kutub Shah of Golconda defeated Pratap Rudra Deva at Kondapalli, but the Gajapatis held Chicacole and Rajamundry for some time to come. In 1571 Ibrahim IV his successor extended his conquest up to Chicacole, and the Chicacole Sirkar which included the Ichapur division to its north was thenceforward ruled from Hyderabad. Though the southern portion of Orissa was thus cut off, the Subah of Orissa still extended from Midnapur to Tekkali Raghunathpur in the Ganjam District. In 1753, the French got the Chicacole Sirkar from the Nizam. But the zamindars in these tracts, especially those of the Northern Ganjam never recognised the suzerainty of either the Nizam's or the French deputies. In 1759 the Chicacole Sirkar was ceded to the British, and it was not till 1767 that regular government was established in this part of the country, and one raja after another submitted to the British.

The Jeypore or the Nandpore Raj family was established by Bhim Deo, ■ son of Pratap Rudra Deo, who founded the Mago family of Jeypore [Vide, Vizagpatam District Gazetteer]. Many zamindaries Golgonda, Salur, Kuruppam, Merangi, etc. were afterwards carved out of the Jeypore Raj as they were held either by the relations or retainers of the Jeypore Chiefs. The Jeypore Zamindari since the time of its foundation was under the Ganga-vansa monarchs till the latters' power was overthrown by the Bahmuni Kings in 1571. It was made ■ tributary after this date to the Bahmuni power of the south. The territory was ceded to the British with the Northern Circars in 1759.

Thus, through ■ series of administrative accidents at once unhappy and illogical, the Oriya country has got dismembered, till finally, at the present day, in what is known as Orissa we have the spectacle of ■ country only about 40,000 sq. miles in area, which naturally should comprise, in spite of the adverse circumstances in the several Oriya tracts, ■ territory no less in extent than about 90,000 sq. miles with a population of about fourteen millions.

CHAPTER IV.

EVILS OF ORISSAN DISMEMBERMENT.

We have shown how due to a series of historic accidents the Oriya country has been cut out into several fragments and each of such dismembered tracts was placed in four large provincial administrations Bengal, Bihar, the Central Provinces, and Madras subject to the perpetual competition of communities very much larger than the Oriyas in numbers and admittedly far in advance of them in more ways than one. The result in every case of such a unwilling and inharmonious combination has invariably been the sacrifice of the Oriyas' national characteristics and aspirations to those of the predominating race with which they were forced to live. This state of things is fraught with grave possibilities. There is constant danger of the loss of solidarity of the Oriyas as a distinct community. The divergences, in habits of life and intellectual aptitudes, to which the Oriyas have been subjected, have arrested all healthy growth, a fact which testifies to their comparative backwardness.

One important respect in which Oriya identity has definitely suffered is in the matter of the language. The Oriya language has barely survived the life-and-death struggle to which it has been subjected in the

several provincial administrations where non-Oriya languages continually threaten the displacement of the indigenous Oriya either as a medium of administration or one of instruction. At one time it was even sought to be proved by Bengali enthusiasts that Oriya is ■ mere dialect of the Bengali language, and this in the face of facts which go to prove something far different. Mr. Beames, for instance, says [See Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages] : "At a period when Oriya was already a fixed and settled language Bengali did not exist. The inhabitants of Bengal spoke a vast variety of corrupt forms of eastern Hindi." The Oriya language has suffered similar persecution in other areas also.

From the view point of administration also, the governments in each of the four provinces experience serious difficulty in the administration of the Oriya tracts placed at the tail end of each of the provinces, forming a minority, which is of necessity neglected. The following extract taken from the letter of H. H. Risley, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, addressed to the Government of Bengal No. 3678, Home Department (Public), dated Calcutta, 3rd December 1903, explains the point. "The difficulties arising from the Oriya problem thus created have been for years a source of anxiety and trouble to the different provinces concerned..... The Government of Madras have repeatedly complained of the anxieties imposed upon their administration, of the great diversity of languages Oriya, Tamil,

Telugu, Malayalam, and Canarese with which Madras Civilians are called upon to cope and which render the transfer of officers from one part of the presidency to another ■ matter in any case of great difficulty and often of positive detriment to the public interest. These disadvantages exercise an injurious effect not only upon the administration, but still more upon the people. Where the population speaking ■ distinct language and the area over which it is spoken ■ too small to constitute ■ substantial portion of a province, the foreign unit is of necessity neglected. Under ordinary circumstances, the Government is unable to retain in it a superior staff who have become acquainted with the language, and with the local customs which invariably accompany it. It is often impossible to officer the subordinate staff from local sources, and foreigners have to be brought in who are ignorant alike of the people, their language, and their ways. The Government may order that the vernacular shall be the language of the Government offices and courts, but since neither officers nor clerks know this vernacular properly, compliance with the order is often impracticable and almost always incomplete. Nowhere ■ these drawbacks more conspicuous than among the Oriya-speaking people distributed ■ has been pointed out between three (now four) administrations and a source of constant anxiety to each. Hence in dealing with ■ question of this kind, it may be that the true criterion of territorial redistribution should be sought not in ■■■■■ but in

language.....The Oriya-speaking group in any case emerges ■ ■ distinct and unmistakable factor with ■ identity and interests of its own."

The Oriya people are also handicapped in their economic and educational progress on account of this anomalous administrative arrangement which keeps the community divided and prevents concentration of its collective forces in the pursuit of any common economic undertaking. The development of the material resources of the country by the people and of the growth of powerful industrial centres tending to their economic prosperity are all checked by the existing order of things. In the matter of education, for the reason that the Oriyas form a small minority in each of the provincial governments concerned, no sufficient and serious attention is paid to their needs, especially those relating to secondary and technical education. What is more, alike in the Primary, Secondary, and University grades of education, there has been ■ conspicuous lack of uniformity of system adopted in the Oriya tracts ; for the general needs of the predominating population of the province in every case form ■ basis in shaping its particular system, with the result that no clear line of progress is noticeable in Oriya intellectual culture.

Finally as a result of the disintegrating forces at work the Oriyas stand the perpetual danger of losing their identity ■ ■ people. Their existence as one of the communities with a distinct cultural integrity, psychology, habits of life, and aspirations is continually

threatened, ■ state of things highly detrimental to their separate existence ■ ■ political unit in the federal India of the future in which it may give to the common stock what it alone can give but which others do not possess and cannot give. The whole which includes similar diversities includes all the elements of life in their fullest vigour: that is the value of diversity—it means partnership and co-operation and unity distinct from uniformity. The small opportunity which at present, however, is afforded to the Oriyas for their national self-expression is mainly responsible for the arresting of the growth of that necessary subnational consciousness in the larger Indian life, a condition which neither the Government nor the people of India can long look on with indifference.

CHAPTER V.

REUNION, A NECESSITY—ARGUMENTS.

A.—FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A FEDERAL INDIA.

Indian politicians have been urging the adoption of Provincial Autonomy in India and the securing of a fair amount of decentralisation in the governance of the Indian Empire. In furtherance of the declared goal of the Indian system of administration in August 1917, eminent British statesmen also have recently given expression to the paramount necessity of establishing a federal India with provincial units autonomous in themselves. The Right Honourable E. S. Montagu, for instance, in July 1917 in the course of a debate in the House of Commons made the following notable utterance: "I see the great self-governing dominions and provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great principalities, the existing principalities and perhaps new ones, not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and principalities federated by a central government." But the most natural and efficient basis for autonomous provinces which will go to the making of a federal India cannot but be linguistic units. And the redistribution of Indian provinces on

■ language basis is a reform of paramount necessity preliminary to the projected constitutional reforms of the country. The demand of the Oriyas for a united Orissa including under it all the Oriya-speaking tracts scattered over four provincial administrations is thus not only a life-and-death problem to them, but is also sanctioned by the highest administrative necessity.

The Oriyas or the Utkaliyas are one of the *pancha* (five) Gauda* Aryan Communities of the north :—Gauda (Bengal), Maithili (Behar), Kanyakubja (United Provinces), Saraswat (Central Provinces), and Utkal (Orissa)—as distinguished from the *pancha* (five) Dravidas† of the south :—Dravida (Tamil), Andhra (Telugu), Maharastra (Mahratta), Kannada (Carnat or Canarese), and Gurjara (Gujarat). Almost all these communities at the present day are grouped each of them either in one or a separate provincial administration except the Oriyas or the Utkaliyas who have been made to live under ~~four~~ provincial governments. This state of things is highly detrimental to the interests of the Oriyas who thereby lose their national characteristics and aspirations. Thus, the administrative reunion of Orissa is ■ question of desirability also.

* सारस्वता: कान्चकुञ्जा गौडमैथिलकीलखा:

पश्चगौडा अतिख्याता विभासोत्तरवासिनः—शब्दसीमनहालिपि।

† कर्णाटाक्षेवं तैलाङ्गागुज्जरा राष्ट्रवासिनः

जाल्याम् द्रविडाक्षेवं विभा द्विश्वासिनः—शब्दसाम्प्रदूमः।

The problem of linguistic distribution of provinces has appealed to other Indian peoples also. The movements inaugurated by the Telugus, the Canarese, and the Sindhi speaking people are in point. Eminent Indian leaders of thought and action have expressed themselves in favour of such a distribution of provinces. Mr. Lionel Curtis of the Round Table propaganda in his scheme of Indian reforms supports the expediency of remaking provinces on a language or racial basis, to suit the higher administrative ends of the country at large. Mr. S. V. Khetkar, a distinguished sociologist and writer on law and polity in his book *Indian Economics*, says (p. 108) : "The people of India have now begun to take deep interest in some of the most vital questions. There is a distinct awakening on the subject of reform in the political divisions. Although the Government of India has no strong sympathy, still it has shown a strong opposition. The people of Orissa want to be enfolded in a separate province. The Andhra movement which is intended to create a province of entirely Telugu-speaking people is progressing with considerable vigour. The Marathi-speaking people of the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and the Central Provinces desire to be given a separate province. These movements, I suppose, will wax in strength as time goes on, and I suppose will accomplish their object when their desire becomes sufficiently strong."

There is absolutely no doubt whatever that for

a healthy Indian national progress, the ultimate goal of the country should be a federated India wherein will be united provinces with their peoples speaking their own languages but controlled by one central government.

B.—FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF NATIONAL INTERESTS.

(i)—LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

One of the greatest evils of Orissan dismemberment is the mutilation of the Oriya language and literature. Indigenous culture of the language is thus not only thwarted but is seriously injured on account of discouragement shown to its study and use.

In Ganjam District and Vizagapatam Agency.

1. In Ganjam, although both Oriya and Telugu have been recognised as court languages in almost all the divisions of the district, except Ghumsur where Oriya has of late been made the sole court language, inasmuch ■ almost all the high executive and judicial officers and clerks are Telugus, most of whom do not possess a real or competent knowledge of Oriya, the repeated Government Orders insisting upon the use of Oriya as the court language in matters whereto the parties are Oriya people, have practically remained quite inoperative. In spite of the Government supply of Oriya forms and strict orders for their use in civil and criminal courts, processes written

in Telugu are issued and served upon Oriya parties ; endorsements on petitions made by revenue officers and magistrates are written in Telugu ; presentation of plaints and statements in Telugu is insisted upon ; depositions given in Oriya are taken down in Telugu characters or ■■■ rendered into Telugu, which often distorts the sense of Oriya words and phrases ; and in registration offices, indexes are kept in Telugu, and encumbrance certificates are given also in Telugu. All these result in perpetual injustice and hardship to the poor Oriyas who are put to great trouble and expense in getting Telugu orders and endorsements translated into Oriya, and plaints and written statements drawn up in Telugu. The Madras Government may introduce ■ patch-work remedy by enforcing the sole official ■■■ of Oriya in certain divisions of the district, but this will prove only a half-measure unless and until the Oriya problem is solved once for all by effecting the union of all the Oriya tracts under one local government.

2. As regards the medium of instruction in the Madras Oriya tracts, though Oriya has been recognised as the language to be employed in the teaching of non-language subjects in Middle English Schools, serious difficulties are very often encountered in regard to interchange of ideas between the teachers and the taught, the former of whom in the majority of cases ■■■ Telugus by birth. There was no Oriya pandit attached to the Berhampur college a few years back, and it is only on the representation of

the Oriya college students that the services of an Oriya pandit were for the first time entertained. The study of Oriya is neglected to such an extent that in parts of Ganjam, especially towards its south, no provision is made to teach Oriya to Oriya boys, who ■ a consequence have perforce to adopt Telugu in place of their mother tongue.

3. But for the employment of Mativansa Naiks of Orissa ■ rural teachers, the masses of the Oriya population in Ganjam would have forgotten their mother tongue. It need not be stated here that the bulk of the Oriyas are ignorant of Telugu, and many of them have to remunerate their Telugu friends for translating to them the purport of the summons, warrant, or notice issued to them.

4. As a consequence of the desuetude of Oriya in courts and schools, suitable encouragement is not given for the cultivation of Oriya literature. As a result, the literature naturally languishes, and corrupt and impure forms of the language and idiom make their appearance in several quarters. This is, indeed, a deplorable state of things in respect of Ganjam where Upendra Bhanj, the greatest national poet of the Oriyas once flourished. Is it not unnatural that Parlakimedi, a zamindari to the south of Ganjam and the home of Oriya music, which had given birth to Gopalkrishna Patnaik, perhaps the greatest idyllic poet of the Oriyas, should remain outside Orissa?

5. In spite of several difficulties, however, there is of late a distinct awakening on the part of the

Oriyas of Madras for their national uplift, ■ feeling which has in recent years found expression in writings of authors like the Raja of Chikiti, one of the prominent Oriya dramatists, and Mr. Nanda of Parlakimedi the lexicographer, a profound philologist in the Oriya language.

6. In the matter of Oriya literature, the main source of inspiration has in most respects been Orissa in the case of the Madras Oriyas. Oriya scholars of these tracts have a great share in all the movements aiming at the development of the literature of the Oriyas, and if these tracts are joined in a common administration with Orissa, all impediments that hamper the growth of Oriya literature will permanently disappear.

7. There are not wanting authorities to show that the purest form of the Oriya language is spoken in Ganjam. For instance, Mr. Beames in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages*, Vol. I., p. 88, while giving an account of Oriya literature, speaks of Ghumsur, ■ division in Ganjam, as ■ tract, "which even to the present day is celebrated ■ the home of the purest form of the language." It is thus also obvious that Ganjam is an integral part of the Oriya-speaking country. Is it not unnatural that Ganjam should be separate?

8. In the Vizagpatnam Agency, besides the purely Oriya-speaking population which numbers 473,437 (Census 1911), there is a large population of

about 91,000 speaking Poroja, ■ *bona fide* dialect of Oriya.

9. The condition at present in the Vizagpatam Agency is very deplorable. Even the Oriya zamindari estate of Jeypore uses Telugu to the total exclusion of Oriya in its offices.

In Midnapore District,

In this district also, the Oriya language, in spite of heavy odds, still survives.

1. Though Bengali has been made the sole court language in the district, the script adopted in the Oriya tracts by the Oriyas resembles the Oriya character more than the Bengali.

Owing, however, to the location of the district in Bengal and to the artificial patronage shown to Bengali to the exclusion of the native Oriya, the language suffers enormously.

2. The Oriya language was very prominent in the south of the district when Sir W. W. Hunter visited it in the last seventies. Though Oriya was coupled with Bengali for the last century and a half in unequal competition, it yet survives in the district with its peculiar idiom, native grace, and flavour distinct from the Bengali. In the Census Reports of 1901 and 1911, it is plainly stated that Oriya is spoken mainly in the southern portion of the district, but that the language about its central part has as great a title ■ be called a dialect of Oriya as of Bengali. In this connection Dr. Grierson in his Linguistic

Survey of India, Vol. I., Part ii., 1903 (p. 369), says:

"A man will begin a sentence in Oriya, drop into Bengali in its middle and go back to Oriya at its end..... .However the language is Oriya in its essence. It has put on strange clothes, like Peter in the 'Tale of a Tub,' but the heart that beats under the strangely-embroidered waistcoat is the same. Nevertheless, a person speaking this Midnapore Oriya is often unintelligible to a man from Puri and vice versa. According to Babu Manmohan Chakravarti, this mental unintelligibility is due, not so much to actual change in the language as, to differences of pronunciation " (Italics ours.) Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley also in the Midnapore District Gazetteer 1911, says (p. 54): "To go into some detail, the language of the Contai subdivision of the Midnapore District is certainly Oriya. The basis of the language is Oriya.... In thana Dantan and in the south of thana Narayangarh the language is not so much affected by Bengali as in Contai." These remarks conclusively prove that the Midnapore tracts proposed to be included in Orissa are mainly Oriya.

3. That the Oriyas of Midnapore cling to their mother tongue even now is evident from other particulars also. They sometimes forego their written character rather than their language. For, according to Dr. Grierson [*Ibid*, p. 370], "in Midnapore, too, the written characters are changed. Sometimes the Oriya character is frankly abandoned, and the language is written in the Bengali character. At

or Hindi as their vernacular in schools. In Middle and High Schools, English is taught to Oriya boys through the medium either of Hindi or of Bengalee which are also foreign to them. Oriya parties and litigants do not often understand correctly the contents of summons, proclamations and other processes issued from courts written in Hindi or Bengalee character, and they suffer no small loss and injury on this account.

4. In spite of such official want of support and encouragement, the Oriya language has survived in comparative purity, and the Government has now begun to pay some attention, though insufficient, to the interests of the Oriyas in this direction. The Kharaswan and Saraikala states with the advice of the Government have ordered for the gradual substitution of Oriya in place of Bengalee and Hindi. The language difficulty in this district, however, will once for all be solved if the district is added to Orissa.

5. In Singbhum we have distinguished Oriya authors and men of letters. This entitles Singbhum to be amalgamated with Orissa under one administration. The Thakur Saheb of Kera, for instance, is well known as a learned author in the field of Oriya literature.

In the Central Provinces.

1. In the State of Jashpur, the Oriya language is slightly mixed with the Beharee. The Oriya spoken in the central group of Oriya Feudatory

States and zamindaries admits of a slight change in pronunciation which is due to the influence of the Chatisgarhi Hindi. In the Khariar zamindari of the Raipur District there are about eighty per cent. of Oriyas with an Oriya zamindar at their head, and yet the tract has not been included in Orissa. In this zamindari the Hindi-speaking people are distinguished from the Oriyas by the designation of Laria. Oriyas and Larias, of the aboriginal tribes, do not intermarry or hold social intercourse with each other ; and the former consider themselves superior to the latter. [Vide, p. 299 Raipur District Gazetteer, 1909.] In the State of Bastar Oriya is spoken in the east ; and in the north-east Bhatri, a true dialect of Oriya is spoken. In the west of the State is spoken Halbi, a dialect of Oriya and Marathi [*Ibid* p. 78]. The legend of the origin of the Halba people prevalent among them says that they came from Jagannath with one of its rajas who founded the kingdom of Kanker, and the Halbas settled there and afterwards spread to Bastar and Bilaspur [*Ibid* p. 102].

2. The difficulties which the Oriyas in these tracts experience in the matter of language are in many respects similar to those in the outlying tracts of Orissa. The mutilation of the language and the comparative loss of its vitality would never have been possible if the Oriyas had not been yoked with unequal partners.

To sum up, in spite of insuperable difficulties in the way of the preservation and culture of the Oriya language in all the outlying tracts of Orissa, Oriya has maintained ■ remarkable integrity and freedom from the influences of the neighbouring languages and dialects. In the last seventies an extraordinary attempt was made for the last time even in Orissa itself to prove that Oriya was ■ mere dialect of the Bengalee language, and it required not a little difficulty and struggle to prove its separate identity from and earlier origin than Bengalee. Till the much-needed reform of constructing a united Orissa is taken in hand, Oriya is ■ to suffer untold miseries in the outlying tracts and continue to occupy ■ subordinate position in courts and schools quite out of keeping with the proportion of the Oriya population in these tracts to those speaking sister languages. It is noteworthy that in spite of opposition from the vernaculars of the four provinces and in spite of all attempts to supersede it by the rival vernaculars, the Oriya language has not only retained its original ground, but has in a large measure absorbed the non-Aryan populations i.e., the Juangs, Gonds, Khonds, and other aboriginal tribes inhabiting the hill tracts of Orissa ; and Oriya is the chief medium now of civilising those important, interesting tribes. The Government of India in its letter No. 3678 Public, dated 3-12-1903 to the Government of Bengal, remark, and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in his letter to the Government of India No. 2646 A.

General, dated 16-3-1904 agrees that the Ho', ■ Munda language, spoken by 235,313 people of Chota Nagpur is likely in time to give place to Oriya. In Madras the Khonds, the Savaras, and the other hill tribes of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency ■■■ taught only Oriya in schools, and the Government encourage Oriya education among them by means of special schools and special stipends tenable in them. A race like the Oriyas which speaks ■ language so full of vitality and possesses an ancient literature of no mean order surely deserves a better treatment.

(ii)—SOCIAL LIFE.

The Oriyas as a nation have social manners and customs peculiar to themselves. But due to forced contact with alien races in the outlying tracts of Orissa these have undergone slight change. It is desirable that for the sake of the maintenance of the identity of the community, such disruptive forces should be removed from the field of their operation.

In Madras there is no bond of relation between the Oriyas and the Telugus such ■ similarity in physical features, identity of social and religious customs, interdining, and intermarrying.

The Oriya is constitutionally religious. Dr. Hunter in his "Orissa", Vol. I., pp. 315 et seq., says, "rightly to understand the intensely religious, or, as some might call it, the superstitious nature of the Orissa peasants,.....we must remember that his sole monuments of the past are the edifices of his deities.

and the whole background of time is for him filled up with dim august revolutions of creeds." No comment is necessary.

2. The Telugus of the presidency are mainly Saivaites, while the majority of the Oriyas are Vaishnavites. The Madras Oriyas like the people of Orissa follow the Vaishnavism of Chaitanya, the great Hindu reformer of Northern India. The rituals and ceremonial observances attached to this system of Vaishnavism are entirely different from those of Ramanuja in Southern India. A Telugu Vaishnava in virtue of the creed preached by Ramanuja is kept insulated from the Dravidian Brahmins, not to speak of intermarriages—even interdining among them being strictly prohibited ; while the Vaishnavism as advocated by Chaitanya recognises no such invidious distinctions.

3. That the Oriya tract of the province is marked out ■ a distinct unit by itself is evidenced by the following quotation from the Vizagpatam District Gazetteer : "While in Ganjam and further north scarcely ■ village is found in which there is not ■ temple or a substantial building containing the image of Siva or Vishnu, in Vizagpatam there is not ■ village in ■ hundred where such can be found." And it will be remembered that the entire plain tract of the district of Vizagpatam is peopled by Telugus.

4. The Oriya Brahmin is always looked down upon with contempt by his Telugu brother who, belonging ■ he does to the Dravidian sect, is ■

vegetarian, while the former belongs to the Gaudā sect, and is a non-vegetarian besides.

5. Telugu Brahmins do not act as priests of Oriya Brahmins and other castes, generally. The Oriya Brahmins, on the other hand, are not so narrow and have no scruples to act as purohits of even Telugu Sudra castes.

6. As regards marriages it is a well-known fact that even the Telugu Brahmins marry their maternal uncle's daughters, and the custom is treated as the most natural and legitimate of relations. The lower Telugu castes marry their own sister's daughters also. These customs are looked down upon by the Oriyas with a feeling akin to abhorrence. [Cf. the Sanskrit saying, *Dakshine Matulakanya*].

7. In the matter of food and drink details of differences between the two communities cannot be too exhaustive. The Telugu Brahmin besides being a vegetarian is like the rest of his race a lover of pungent and acidic foods—quite unlike the Oriyas.

The Zamindars of the Ganjam District who without exception all Oriya Kshatriyas do not drink liquor and do not eat the sowl like the Telugu Kshatriya rajas of the southern districts.

"The Oriya does not drink, and in this respect he forms a notable contrast to his Telugu brother.

I have seen whole villages of Telugus—of the Reddika caste—in which there was not one man who did not bear the brand of drunkenness on his face. This makes the Telugu turbulent and quarrelsome.

A fight in an Oriya village may arise from some sectarian quarrel or even upon some trivial matter which serves two embittered factions ■ a pretext ; in a Telugu village ■ fight will arise for no reason whatever"—"Essays on Native South Indian Life" by Mr. S. P. Rice, I.C.S., once Collector of Ganjam. From this the author proceeds, "we shall find that the Oriya is for the most part a law-abiding citizen, not complaining and not turbulent, comparatively faithful in his domestic relations, and above all things sober." [Ibid]

8. With necessary exceptions, the observance of religious festivities and rejoicings is different from that in the case of the Telugus. The following festivities among others ■ peculiar to the Oriyas : Savitri Amavasya, Gundicha Jatra, Dol Jatra, Goma Pournami, Pona Sankranti, Kumar Pournami, Basanth Panchami etc. Besides, some of the common Hindu festivities observed by Telugus and Oriyas alike fall on different days e.g. : New Year's Day etc. Lastly, in the case of certain festivals the mode of observance by the two communities differs e.g. : Makar Sankranti, Kartik Amavasya, Sivaratri, Dasarah, etc.

The Government of Madras recognises some of the legitimate festival days of the Oriyas as holidays in public offices and courts.

9. In the matter of dress both in the case of males and females, there is a marked difference between Telugus and Oriyas. "All classes (among

the Oriyas), even the lowest, wear the cloths wrapped round the loins and tied in the way common to all natives of the better class in the north. The Telugu ryot in the south of the district—and I may take him as a typical distinction—wears ■ string round the waist on which he suspends his cloth, leaving his hips bare ; and this mode of dress conveys rather the impression of undress"—Mr. Rice's "Native South Indian Life". Even those of the better classes among the Telugus leave ■ tail of cloth hanging from the waist at their hind part. Oriya women invariably have a veil over their faces whereas Telugu women do not. Unlike her Telugu sister; an Oriya woman so long as she is not a widow is bound by custom to wear a set of glass bangles ■ both her wrists ; and Oriya widows are not required to shave off the hair over their heads like those among the Telugus. Oriya women as a rule are *purdanashins*.

10. Regarding the subject of female modesty Mr. Rice with his first hand knowledge of conditions in Ganjam says : "Oriya women, then, have a high sense of female modesty. It ■ not confined to the higher class alone. Even the women whom the necessities of life drive to work in the fields ■ exceptionally modest and respectful. A coolie woman will turn her face away from you, and, as you pass, she will draw her cloth more securely across her breast. I must put this down in her favour, if we contrast her with the Tamil woman of the south,

many of whom go about, without shame, in no more clothing than their lords". He also says, "it is remarkable that the wives who have been deserted by their husbands, or who have found intolerable the introduction of a rival leading to ill-treatment of their husbands, are in nine cases out of ten, Telugus. Again, the women whose character has been damaged by slander, the men who have lost their caste at the insinuation of others, are almost always Telugus complaining against Telugus, and that, be it remembered, in the midst of a population three parts Oriya....."

11. Every permanent Oriya home worships its own household divinity and locates it in the kitchen room over which a peculiar sanctity pervades. As the divinity thus worshipped is perpetuated through generation after generation, no family ceremony can be performed without the auspices of this presiding deity nor without obtaining some relic thereof. These are totally absent in the Telugu household.

12. An Oriya has never an *intiperu* or family name attached at the beginning of his name. He has on the other hand a *sangya* or surname at the end of his name.

Such differences as these establish a distinct identity of the Oriyas different from the Telugus.

In Midnapore several Oriyas adopt Bengali dress and Bengali manners, and even call themselves Bengalis. Owing to such causes as these, there has

been ■ continual fall of the Oriya-speaking population in the census enumerations, e.g.:—

1891	...	572,798
by 1.	...	270,495
e of Oris	...	181,801

It is not to be supposed that the Bengalees exterminated the Oriya race with the sword and colonised the district. The people are still Oriyas having surnames, ■ Mahapatra, Behara, Patnaik, Panda, Samanta, Santra etc., all of which are Oriya. Some Kaivartas of this district have taken their surnames into the 24 Paraganas and ■ high as Hugli or even Burdwan.

2. Some of the Oriyas in this district modify their surnames and pass as Bengalees. The following will give an idea of such a change:

Oriya surnames changed into Bengali.

1. Padhi	„	Pahadi	an
2. Pani	„	Payen or Pan	
3. Sadangi	„	Sangiri or Sanmi Srihi	
4. Mahanti	„	Mayiti	
5. Jena	„	Jana	

3. Oriya rites and ceremonies, however, ■ scrupulously performed and this constitutes one important mode of distinguishing an Oriya from a Bengali.

4. Oriya puranas also are read by the Oriyas here.

5. The family legends prevalent in the homes of the so-called Bengalees, and the local customs they observe as different from those of Bengal in every way unmistakably prove that the people are, ~~are~~, ^{generally} Oriyas.

On account mainly of the similar treatment Oriya and the Bengalee language, ~~identity~~ between the resemblance in the social customs and the close proximity of the two races, the Oriyas customs and manners of disruptive forces at work threaten easily yield to the dis-community. The evils threatening their identity as a Bengalisation are thus ~~a~~ consequent on such a speedy remedy.

In Singhbhum and the Provinces, the people of the Oriya Tracts of the Central
customs, and are generally follow the same manners and
which prevail in Orissa. Oriya rites and Oriya
puranas peculiar to the people of the Oriya country
are resorted to.

2. In horoscopes, almanacs, *cadjan* and paper, in all *sanads* issued by rajas granting assignments of lands to temples and *inams* to Brahmins, and in documents presented in Registration offices and civil courts, the era of the Raja of Puri, known as *anka*, is invariably given. This is a feature of the Oriya tracts belonging to the several provinces. The *Mitakshara* law is followed in Singhbhum unlike Bengal where the *Dayabhag* is followed.

The rajas, zamindars, and other Oriyas in

Ganjam District and Vizagapatam Agency in Madras, in Midnapore in Bengal, in Singhbhum in Chota Nagpur, and in the Oriya tracts of the Central Provinces, are bound by ties of blood, marriage, adoption etc. with those of Orissa now so-called ; follow the same manners and customs ; observe the same ceremonies and festivals ; and practise the same daily prayer, and worship in the same language as their brothers in Orissa. Everywhere the *rath-jatra* festival is a peculiarity of the Oriyas. And what is more, in religious and ceremonial observances as in making *sankalpas*, the Oriya people while thus engaged utter, irrespective of the province in which they at present are made to live, the following words :—*Bharatuvarshe Utkaladese*—in India, in the Oriya country. Thus, wherever the Oriyas may be found in any one of the above contiguous territories their distinct characteristics and habits of life are one and indissoluble—things that mark out the people as possessing an identity of their own, distinct from the Telugus on the south, Bengalees on the north, and the Hindi-speaking people on the west and north-west.

(iii)—ECONOMIC GROUNDS.

1. One of the most formidable grounds on which the union of the Oriya tracts is sought to be advocated is on the ground of increasing economic enfeeblement of the community as a whole, as a direct result of the present state of administrative vivisection. The conditions are so unfavourable that concentration of the

available forces in the country in any common economic undertaking is rendered well nigh impossible. Besides, the development of the material resources and prosperity of industrial concerns are matters of extreme difficulty. And it is often admitted that there is more land in Orissa than there are husbandmen to till it [see, for instance, Hunter's "Orissa", Vol. I., p. 47]. The state of things leads to a periodic emigration of the masses of the population to the neighbouring provinces, a fact which amply proves the forced non-utilisation of labour in the country itself for developing its own resources.

2. As declared by several persons, the share of attention which the Oriya country has all along attracted of her rulers is comparatively small. Dr. Hunter, for instance, says :—"No part of Bengal has attracted less notice from the historian or from the scholar. Its hard fate has been to lie between two fertile presidencies, unclaimed and uncared for by either. Till its great agony in 1866 touched the heart of the English people, Orissa was of less account in the empire than a single wealthy district of Bengal or of Madras." For, in that year more than a million people perished of starvation from sheer neglect of the British Government. If the administrative union of the Orissan tracts is rendered an actual fact and a separate provincial administration is given to it, the Government will inevitably embark on a policy involving greater attention to it than hitherto. When the proposals of a direct Railway communication between

the sea ports and Sambalpore and the cutting out of canals out of the big rivers are taken in hand, famines and floods will permanently disappear from Orissa and the economic prosperity of the agricultural population will be ensured.

3. The Bengal Nagpur lines of railway have within the last few years brought together the isolated Oriya tracts of Ganjam, Orissa, Midnapore, Singhbhum, Sambalpur, Central Provinces etc. The proposed railway from Sambalpur to the Orissa coast will facilitate easy communication further and strengthen the bonds of union among the Oriyas. The formation of a separate province with all the attendant advantages will help to further the internal trade relations already subsisting between Sambalpur and the Mogul bandi districts both in tusser and forest products, and Orissa trading agencies and Ganjam District in sugar and jute.

4. Owing to the location of the dismembered Oriya tracts at the tail-end of each of the provinces, they do not naturally enjoy a proportionate advantage of the Imperial grants made to each of the provincial administrations. As explained in a subsequent chapter, if a separate provincial administration is formed out of all the Oriya-speaking tracts, the share of the Imperial grants which the Oriyas will get will go a great way, especially to meet the expenditure incurred in the maintenance of irrigation canals in Orissa, provided, of course, the financial relations

subsisting between the provincial and Imperial governments continue as at present.

5. In his Despatch of August 1911, Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India urged the joining of Orissa to Behar on the ground that Orissa would provide a sea-board to the province. In case of the union of the Oriya tracts in one or a separate administration, this proposal will naturally be given effect to, and one or more of the ports of Chandbally, Puri, and Gopalpur will through artificial means made into harbours thus facilitating external trade. This will greatly conduce to the prosperity of the state finances.

6. The indigenous Oriya population in each of the outlying tracts, on account of its forming a small minority among the predominating peoples of the province and owing to a comparative lateness on the part of Government in affording facilities for vocational education, recruitment on an adequate scale from local sources for the public services is rendered highly difficult. This evil of non-employment, while it necessitates an artificial influx of non-indigenous neighbouring races of the province, an element in any case of weakness, inevitably heightens the economic misery of the people; for the non-indigenous element which in most cases fulfils temporary exigencies of service in these tracts causes a kind of drain of the material resources of the country with no substantial return to the native population.

That Orissa also suffers the greatest oppression from intermediaries of all kinds is well illustrated by

the following words of Dr. Hunter in his "Orissa" Vol. I., p. 330 et seq.: "The growth of these intermediate rights forms the most conspicuous phenomenon in the history of Orissa under its foreign conquerors.....the very roughness of the public administration allowed private rights to spring up unperceived, and to harden into permanent charges upon the soil—charges which its native princes would never have tolerated". This is inevitable in a condition of things where non-indigenous elements of population occupy a predominant position to the exclusion of the natives of the soil.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

7. *Land Revenue Settlement.* In the Oriya-speaking country both temporary and permanent kinds of settlement obtain. And there is a great deal of uniformity noticeable in respect of the Oriya tracts regarding both the kinds of revenue settlement.

(a) The zamindaries in Ganjam District, and Jeypore, are permanently settled, as also the zamindaries in the district of Singhbhum in Chota Nagpur. These constitute permanently settled areas.

(b) Except a small area in the districts of Cuttack, Balasore, and Puri which comprises estates such as Kanika, Aul, Marichpur etc., the zamindari tracts and the Government lands in the Orissa Division and the Central Provinces as also the Ganjam ryotwari tracts, are temporarily settled. Unlike the permanently settled areas whose pierscush is a fixed

amount, the revenues from the temporarily settled areas are subject to revision every 30 years. The estates in the Oriya tract of Midnapore, such ■ Jalamutah and Majnāmutah, which are situated in the south and east of the district in the Contai Sub-division, and Pataspur [Pataspur is "the third large temporarily settled estate which adjoins Orissa was in possession of the Mahrattas up to 1803"—"Midnapore District Gazetteer", p. 135] are likewise temporarily settled. Also the Government estates such ■ the Jalpai lands which are mostly within the Contai Sub-division are also temporarily settled. It is interesting to note here that the other zamindari estates of Midnapore which are on the north and the west of the district are mostly permanently settled.

(c) The reason why such ■ uniformity exists in respect of Orissa and the southern zamindaries of Midnapore now included in the scheme of the Orissa province, in point of temporary settlement, is, that territories ceded in the time of Lord Cornwallis, such as those of North Midnapore, were made permanently settled, while those annexed after him by Lord Wellesley were settled temporarily. The present Orissa, and southern Midnapore including the Pataspur pargana which was then in Orissa, were therefore temporarily settled ; while the zamindaries in Ganjam and Singhbhum, and Jeypore, which were annexed about the time of Lord Cornwallis remain permanently settled. Estates such ■ Mahuri and

Ghumsur which were originally permanently settled zamindaries lost this character and became temporarily settled government areas, thus establishing a uniformity with Orissa in respect of its Government taluks.

(d) Bengal Regulation XII of 1805 and Regulation X of 1807 promise the extension of the Permanent Settlement to Orissa. And these promises were made the pegs on which men like Sir W. W. Hunter, the *Times* of London, and other public bodies have appealed for redemption of the promises by extending the measure to Orissa. There is no doubt that the extension in principle of such a measure is not now favoured by the Government of India on the ground that it favours the landlord at the expense of the tenant. But this objection does not hold good now since the Tenancy Acts remove all possible evils inherent in the direction. If, however, the suggestion materialises, there would be complete uniformity in the Oriya-speaking tracts in the matter of land revenue settlement; and permanent settlement for zamindari areas and temporary settlement for Government estates would be the result.

8. *Land Tenures.* In respect of land tenures in the zamindari areas, in Orissa Division it is regulated by the Orissa Tenancy Act 1913, in Singhbhum by the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908, in Midnapore by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, and in Madras Oriya tracts by the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908. The first Act which attempted to solve the question

of the agrarian problem between the zamindar and the tenant is the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 which found complete application in Bengal and Behar, and certain of whose provisions only were applied to Orissa till 1912. But the extension of these provisions gave rise to difficulties ■ they were in conflict with a previous Act (Rent Act of 1859) which prevailed in Orissa. In order to meet the new situation the Orissa Tenancy Act was passed, by the Behar and Orissa legislature, in 1913 framed on the main provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act. This establishes in effect ■ uniformity in the tenures obtaining in Midnapore in Bengal and in the present Orissa. As regards Singhbhum which is regulated by the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 the most important features "are the introduction from the Bengal Tenancy Act of the principles of the settled ryot, provision for commutation of produce rents, definite prohibition against enhancement by private contract, and special provisions for protection of Mundari *Khunt-Kattidars* and village headmen."

[Administrative Report, Behar and Orissa, 1911-12.] Finally ■ regards Ganjam and Jeypore, the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908 which conferred occupancy rights on the tenants finds application, and many of the provisions embodied in the Act are taken from the Bengal Tenancy Act. Thus it will be seen that there is ■ marked uniformity in the laws governing the relations of zamindar and tenant in all the Oriya-

speaking areas proposed to be united under common administration.

(iv)—EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGES.

1. From Chap. III. it will be seen that the Oriya-speaking tracts were brought under British control at different times and from different directions. The southern portion of Orissa, the Ganjam District and the Vizagpatam Agency, was annexed in 1766, 37 years earlier to the acquisition of what is known ■ Orissa. Even then the Oriyas of Orissa had the blessing of English education bestowed upon them in 1838, whereas Ganjam got the first English school as late as 1858 i.e. full 50 years posterior to the date when the other districts of Madras had come under the enlightening influence of English education. Again, the Oriya language had not been recognised by the University of Madras in its affiliated institutions till 1873. As regards Singhbhum, the whole of which passed into British hands only about the middle of the last century, it got the first Middle English School in 1865, and appointment of Oriya teachers to teach Oriya to Oriya students in the present High School at Chaibasa was made only in 1915. It will thus be seen that the undue lateness in making provisions for the education of the Oriya minorities in the out-lying tracts especially in the Madras Oriya area furnishes one of the potent ■■■■■ for the enforced backwardness of the community. This could not

have been the case if all the Oriya tracts had been united under a single administration.

2. The spread of Oriya primary education in the outlying tracts of Orissa has been very meagre in comparison with that which obtains in Orissa. In the southern tracts of Ganjam District and in the Vizagapatam Agency many Oriya villages go without Oriya schools. In Midnapore, there is scarcely a school where regular Oriya instructions are imparted. There are some schools here, however, where Oriya is taught only in the evening hours supplementing the instructions given to pupils during the rest of the day in Bengali. In Singhbhum and the Oriya tracts of the Central Provinces also similar difficulties are experienced in the matter of the education of the children. The Goalas of Singhbhum send their children to schools where Oriya and Oriya alone is taught and refuse to send them to any other [see Singhbhum District Gazetteer, p. 59]; and though Oriya is taught in some places at the wish of the people a appreciable number of Oriya primary schools have not yet been provided for the people.

3. Secondary education in the outlying Oriya tracts is very meagrely provided for. In the Madras Oriya tracts, for instance, there were not more than two High Schools for Oriya boys about five years ago; and even now for an area of about 20,000 square miles with an aggregate population of about 2½ millions in these tracts there are not more than eight recognised High Schools. In Singhbhum Dis-

trict there is only one High School and in Midnapore there is scarcely any provision made for Oriya teaching. In Orissa proper there are 25 High Schools.

4. In the matter of collegiate education the Oriyas of Midnapore, Singhbhum, and the Central Provinces have scarcely any provision made for them. In the Ganjam District there are two Second Grade Colleges, but owing to the want of an adequate number of High Schools for Oriyas in the district, the two colleges are not rendered sufficiently useful to the community. There is only one First Grade College, the Ravanshaw College at Cuttack in Orissa, a Government institution. But though the strength of this college is very much larger than the Patna College, the other Government College in Behar and Orissa (their respective strengths being in 1915—488 to 360), yet neither in equipment nor in the provision of the staff does the former institution receive so much of the Government's attention as the latter. The M.A. classes of the Ravanshaw College have been removed, although Oriya graduates are turned out in increasingly large numbers year after year from this college. All these difficulties stand in the way of the collegiate education of the Oriyas driving the students to distant places like Calcutta, Bankipore or Madras, a state of things which can be remedied by the administrative union of the Oriya tracts when larger attention will naturally be paid to Oriya needs in this direction. The Oriyas will then be in a position to start on their own initiative and

with concerted effort High Schools in tracts like Ganjam and ■ few colleges at some convenient centres in Orissa.

5. Orissa is sadly ■ need of technical education of any description whatever, not to speak of Ganjam and Midnapore where institutions for imparting technical and industrial education do not at all exist. The B.L. classes attached to the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack have been abolished and have not been reopened in spite of the incessant demands made by the public. The Engineering School at Cuttack has been reduced to the status of ■ Survey School, and it has not been raised to its original status in spite of Government promises to do so, though the Raja of Atagarh has placed at the disposal of the Government the required donation of Rs. 20,000 for the purpose. In Cuttack there is no doubt ■ Medical School, but no provisions are made for instructions to the Ganjam and Midnapore Oriyas in this school. Nowhere in the Oriya country are there arrangements made for the training of Oriya graduates for service in the educational department. In this connection we would recall how the Madras Government not only restored to the Telugu districts under its charge the once flourishing Training College at Rajahmundry but also gave ■ Mechanical Engineering School at Vizagapatam for the exclusive benefit of the Telugus. But unlike that of Madras the Government of Behar and Orissa is as usual very indifferent to the special needs of the Oriya population in these matters. It is hardly

necessary to add that for Sanitation, Vaccination, Veterinary, Agriculture, and Forestry, absolutely no provision for instruction is made in the Oriya tracts. Oriya students in consequence have to go to distant places outside Orissa such as Calcutta, Sibpur, Bankipur, Vizagpatam, Rajmundry, Madras, etc., for studying for Law, Engineering, Teaching, Sanitation, Vaccination, Veterinary, Agriculture or Forestry.

6. One very important respect in which the Oriyas suffer markedly is as regards Sanskrit education. The Government of Behar and Orissa soon after the creation of the ~~new~~ province established a Sanskrit college at Muzafarpur in Behar ; and yet the superior claims of Puri, the traditional centre of Sanskrit culture had been for long overlooked. And it is only recently that one such institution has been established at Puri. Again, there is a prominent want of uniformity in the systems of Sanskrit education prevailing in Orissa and in the Madras Oriya tracts. While for the Oriental Titles Examinations of the Madras University, English forms one of the subjects of study, it has been excluded from the tirtha titles examination in Behar and Orissa. Again, the Sanskrit department of Madras have included vernacular teaching as a part of the curriculum for the Sanskrit schools under its control ; but the Inspecting Officers who are either Telugus or Tamilians totally ignorant of Oriya leave Oriya teaching out of account while inspecting the Sanskrit schools in the Oriya tracts of Madras. This difficulty can be

avoided if the Sanskrit schools in the Madras Oriya area ■ brought under the control of the Inspecting agency of Orissa. It may be noted here that the pandits of all the Oriya tracts including those of Ganjam, Singhbhum, and Contai in Midnapore met recently in ■ Conference at Puri to discuss measures for the maintenance of identity and distinct character of the Utkala School of Sanskrit learning, and have submitted ■ memorial to the Government for the institution of ■ separate Sanskrit Association for all Orissa having jurisdiction over the Sanskrit tolls of Ganjam basing their claim mainly on the distinct character of the toll system and the system of ritual prevailing in the Oriya country as different from that prevailing in Behar. Many of the prayers embodied in the memorial have since been granted. If the several Oriya tracts are brought under one separate administration uniformity in organisation, inspection, instruction, and equipment will be secured, which will enormously help the fostering of Sanskrit culture that is ■ sacred heritage of the Indian communities.

(v)—DIFFICULTIES IN ADMINISTRATION.

1. The outlying Oriya tracts form mere isolated appendages in ■ corner of each of the provinces. This inevitable in each case happens and the attention paid to them is naturally very little. Sir C. Beadon, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal failed to cope with the serious situation in Orissa in 1866 with the great Orissa Famine which cost the province no less

than ■ million lives, ■ fact which demonstrates the utter inefficiency of a Government called upon to administer to the interests of a population situated at the tail end of the province. The Madras Government shows its incapacity to deal with the Oriya problem, ■ is evidenced by the persistent evasion by the local officials in Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency of G.O's, such ■ G.O. No. 2024, dated 15-12-1890, ordering the appointment of at least half the number of Oriya officials and recognising Oriya ■ court language in matters whereto the parties are Oriya people, and several other circulars of ■ similar character, which in consequence remain to this day ■ dead letters in the greater part of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency.

2. Under the existing conditions there is no close touch between the people of the Oriya country and the different local governments concerned. This will be secured only if ■ separate government is given for all the Oriya country, when efficiency in administration will be ensured. It may in this connection be suggested that ■ close co-operation between the Government and the people is a potent factor in the administration of Orissa by reason of the fact that her interests have till now been neglected. And for the sake of efficiency, a policy of greater attention on the part of the Government to the needs of the people is a paramount necessity, a fact which will advance all concerted effort among the people for their own well-being. To secure

greater attention on the part of the Government to the requirements of Orissa Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India, had suggested in 1888, ■ ■ result of the enquiry on the administrative failure of 1866, that provision should be made for ■ separate administration of Orissa. The truth is that even now the Governments of Behar and Madras are generally absorbed in solving problems relating to the major populations of their respective provinces to the comparative neglect of Oriya interests in Orissa and Madras.

3. Owing to the fact that the Oriyas form a minority in each of the provincial populations, recruitment from local ■■■■■ on the public services in the Oriya areas is rendered inadequate, ■ condition of things which necessitates the importing of non-Oriyas from other areas who do not start their official career in the country and have no sympathy for its customs and traditions and therefore do not feel devoted to its interests. In consequence there have arisen classes of people, in the outlying Oriya tracts with the advantage of English education given to them at ■ early stage in British Administration, who constitute intermediary ruling races, intermediary between the Government and the people, and fostering vested interests of their own.

4. Instances are not rare of the transference of bad subordinate officers from other parts to the outlying Oriya tracts presumably as a punishment for questionable official conduct. Thus, in a measure,

these tracts have been regarded as penal areas. It can easily be imagined to what an extent such officials whose interests are so unlike those of the indigenous Oriyas will be susceptible to popular opinion and what interest they will have in the good administration of the Oriya areas. The activities of such officers, owing to the comparative isolation of the areas of their jurisdiction, do not naturally receive sufficient scrutiny of the central governments. These irresponsible subordinates with more or less discretionary powers have been invariably created to the positive detriment of the public interest.

5. As matters stand at present the Governments of Madras, Behar, Bengal, and the Central Provinces are called upon to deal with the special needs of these Oriya areas. These special needs arise from reasons such as the non-recognition of their language in courts and schools and their non-representation on the public services owing to the very fact of their being small minorities in each of the provincial populations. It would be amusing, were it not painful, to note how the Madras Government, for instance, in dealing with the Oriya problem, passes G.O's., then sees them evaded or inadequately adopted, again adds fresh G.O's. in order to give effect to the G.O's. already passed.

All anxieties will vanish once and for ever when a separate province is conceded to the Oriyas and no necessity will arise to deal with the Oriya language separately by the existing provincial governments.

The fact that ■ wide-spread desire is prevalent in the outlying tracts to establish Oriya ■ the sole court language strongly proves the necessity of the proposed union.

6. Owing to their minority and backward condition in each province, the Oriyas find themselves at a disadvantage in the matter of the representation in legislative councils, both local and imperial. As matters stand at present, in the Oriya-speaking tracts outside Orissa Division there is no chance of an Oriya being ever returned by election to the local legislative councils. Even in the Orissa Division, they find themselves in ■ minority in the Legislative Council of Behar and Orissa, ■ condition which might be far improved if the outlying Oriya-speaking tracts were added to Orissa.

In the sphere of local self-government, in municipalities and local boards, the Oriyas fare no better. In almost all cases, especially in the outlying tracts, the chairmen, presidents, and vice-presidents of local bodies being officials are as a rule non-Oriyas. In the forthcoming scheme of Local Self-Government, if the heads of the local bodies be recruited from the non-officials, the non-Oriyas who form under the existing conditions the majority in these bodies, will monopolise all the power. This anomalous state of things will be remedied if the proposed union of Orissa will be given effect to ; for, then, the voice of the indigenous population of a united Orissa will

invariably prevail in the affairs of Local Self-Government and its benefits fully reaped by them.

7. The seat of Government for the Madras Oriyas is Madras, for those of Orissa distant Bankipore which has no direct railway communication with Orissa, and Nagpur for the Oriya people of the Central Provinces, all the centres situated at distances of hundreds of miles away from the heart of the Oriya country. If a separate province be granted, the town of Cuttack, which has been from very ancient times the political capital of the province till the British occupation of Orissa, will conveniently serve ■ ■ suitable administrative centre.

8. The slow and belated doses of cure administered by the various provincial governments by way of solving the Oriya problem do not in any case effect a permanent cure. The Madras Oriyas, though occupying ■ fourth place in point of numbers in the presidency, have learnt that their grievances cannot finally be redressed by the Madras Government. The Ghumsur Division in the Ganjam District, though it provides one-third of the revenue of the district got the first High School so late ■ 1915. Interpellations in the legislative council on questions relating to the Oriyas receive evasive or indefinite replies from the Government. The Oriya districts do not generally have high officers belonging to the community. There has not yet been a single Deputy Superintendent of Police in the Madras ■ ■ All these

show that the permanent remedy for the woes of the Oriyas lies in the creation of ■ separate province.

9. In carrying out the project of uniting the Oriya people under one administration, there may, of course, be some preliminary administrative difficulties. There will be changes in the provincial boundaries, some transfers in the Civil Service, adjustments in revenue accounts, and, temporarily, slight expenditure. But if the happiness of the people be the object of the Government, ■ it ought to be, these causes should not deter it in carrying out this salutary scheme which will bring in its train moral and material blessings conducing to the lasting happiness of the

CHAPTER VI

GEOGRAPHICAL UNITY OF THE ORIYA COUNTRY.

On looking at the map one can notice how what is now claimed ■ natural Orissa forms ■ region by itself shut out from the rest of India by mountains and forests. It is one of the obvious principles of race-expansion that the habitable area occupied by a given race is a geographical unit distinct from the country of neighbouring races or communities. The case of Orissa forms no exception to this general rule. Its past history points to her natural isolation ; it was always ■ *terra incognita* by reason of its geographical position, ■ fact which established it as an independent unit in the Indian continent.

Orissa is on the south contiguous to Ganjam which ■ connected with the former by the Chilka Lake, while the Mahendra Mountain with its spurs which lie to the south of Ganjam covering the Tarla and Tekkali zamindaries form the natural boundary between the Telugu speaking people of the Northern Circars and the Oriya country. Orissa and Ganjam possess decidedly similar geographical features. Even persons who have no friendly feelings in regard to the administrative union of the Oriya tracts admit the force of this argument. The Lieutenant-Governor

of Bengal in his letter to the Government of India 2719 J-D, the 12th September 1904, para ■ says, "probably it may be admitted that geographically and ethnologically the Ganjam District and its Agency tract and perhaps also the Vizagpatam Agency tracts, ought to have been under one administration with Orissa proper and the Oriya-speaking tracts of the Central Provinces, the common bond being the identity of race and the long-standing connection of the Oriya districts with the rural tribes of the hills. The ancient history of these tracts ■ to indicate that this would have been ■ suitable arrangement."

The Vizagpatam Agency has got Bastar to its west and Kalahandi state to its north, the hills of which state continue into the heart of Jeypore in Vizagpatam Agency. Thus from the view point of geographical features ■ uniformity will be established when the Ganjam District and the Vizagpatam Agency are joined in administrative union with Orissa, now ■ called. As the Ghats run through the centre of the Vizagpatam District leaving almost all the taluks of the Jeypore Agency to its west, the latter ■ very well be separated and joined with Orissa.

The long and deep chain of mountains that lies between the flat country and the agency tracts of Vizagpatam District together with the upper courses of the Vansadhara river and the southern spurs of the Mahendra Mountain in Ganjam will form the southern boundary of the proposed Oriya province.

The arbitrary drawing of district boundaries in Madras is well illustrated by the fact that the Vizagpatam Agency which is mainly Oriya is ■ tract separate from the district proper while the revenue taluk of Chicacole in Ganjam, which is mainly Telugu in population, belongs geographically to the Vizagpatam District area. The best arrangement is to cut out Chicacole from the unwieldy district of Ganjam and add the Vizagpatam Agency to it carving two Oriya districts out of the territory so formed. As it is, however, the Ganjam District with Chicacole in it is an unwieldy district while the present Vizagpatam District including its agency tracts is the biggest district in all India and the most populous in the province, in brief an anomalous type of ■ Indian district.

But owing to the severance of the Ganjam District and the Vizagpatam Agency from Orissa and the consequent lack of uniformity in point of geographical features, enormous difficulties are experienced in the practical administration of the country. In order to reach Orissa the officers of the Orissa Kandhmals, especially of Angul, pass through northern Ganjam to catch the Bengal Nagpur Railway at Berhampur, and those of the Kalahandi state through Vizagpatam Agency to catch the railway at Parvatipore in the Jeypore Oriya tract. Linguistically speaking, Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency taken together thus form ■ sort of geographical projection of the Oriya country in the south-west, touching the littoral parts of the

Telugu country from the side of Kalingapatam towards Chicacole. The hill tracts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agencies which are contiguous to the Orissa Kandhmals will be ruled more conveniently when the proposed amalgamation is made. The officer placed in charge of all these hill tracts will act from ■ fixed centre, say at Sambalpore, in cases of disturbance in any of them without necessity of help from other local governments, which involves heavy loss of time and prevents prompt action. It may in this connection be suggested that the present Government of Orissa can administer the Oriya hill tracts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam agencies containing large populations of Savaras and Khonds with greater ■ than any other provincial government ; for, it has already under its jurisdiction and control similar large areas peopled mostly by such aboriginal tribes.

We have already explained how the Madras Oriya tract is naturally ■ part of Orissa and how the artificial meddling with its natural boundary on the part of Government has resulted in manifold administrative inconveniences and serious damage to the best interests of the people. The same is the case with the Oriya tracts in Bengal and in the Central Provinces. The southern part of the Midnapore District in Bengal which is mainly peopled by the Oriyas ■ geographically a part of Orissa.

In Valentijn's memoir, quoted (p. 195) in the Midnapore District Gazetteer, it is stated how Hijili

corresponding mostly to the Oriya ■■■ of Midnapore was separated from Orissa and added ■ to Bengal, and he adds, "it is for this reason alone that Hinjeli which by position belongs to Orissa is now attached to Bengal." The fact that the country to the south of the district is "geographically ■ part of Orissa" is also admitted by the author of the District Gazetteer of Midnapore (p. 2).

The Oriya tracts in the Central Provinces form ■ natural part of Orissa Garjats, but an artificial projection of the Raipur and Bilaspur districts. This is admitted by the writer of the Raipur District Gazetteer (p. 2). Speaking about the form of the district, he says, "its shape is now fairly compact except for the projection caused by the Phuljhar zamindari in the east ; but the Head-quarter town Raipur stands almost on the western border and is thus far removed from the eastern zamindaries of Khariar and Phuljhar." The Chandrapur-Padampur and Malkhorda zamindaries between the Saranggarh and Raigarh states form the upper basins of the Mahanadi which wholly flows through Orissa, and they open along it towards the east more than towards the west. And they also lie projecting into the Sambalpur District. The low ranges of hills in Phuljhar and Saranggarh ■■■ natural continuation of the hilly tracts in western Orissa. As regards the states, geographically Saranggarh, Raigarh, Udaipur, and Jashpur together form ■ block which should be joined with the Garjats of Orissa for more reasons, than one. The state of

Bastar lying to the north-west of Jeypore Agency in the Vizagpatam District constitutes ■ natural tract of country covering up the projection into the Vizagpatam Agency.

Thus the country inhabited by the Oriya people extends in an oval-shaped form from the River Haldi on the north to the upper courses of the Godavari and the Vansadhara on the south, and occupies the central position in the east coast, the eastern half along the sea-coast being the plains while the western uplands bounded by the Sargujah hills in the north-west and the Chhatisgarh plains on the west forming the mountainous country. The four rivers of Subarnarekha, Baitarani, Mahanadi and Rushikulya and the upper courses of the Nagavali and the Vansadhara, which water the plains, the central position of the country on the eastern coast of India, and the hilly ranges which shut out the province from the rest of India mark it out both in the ancient and in the modern times as ■ distinct geographical entity deserving of a separate administration.

CHAPTER VII.

ALLIED MOVEMENTS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ORIYA PROBLEM.

The desire of the Oriya people to be united under one administration finds its counterpart in the case of several other Indian communities also — a result of the unsatisfactory political division of the country. This does positive harm to the social well-being of the peoples concerned. The present political divisions are results of accidents. As the conquest of India by the East India Company progressed, the newly acquired territory in each case was added to the contiguous territory already under possession. Taking for example the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies alone into consideration, we find that the former has got under its administration districts which are peopled by the Tamils, the Telugus, the Canarese, the Oriyas, and the Malayalee, while Bombay has got divisions which speak four distinct languages, viz., the Marathi, the Gujarathi, the Sindhi, and the Canarese. The Bengalees till recently were divided into the Eastern and the Western Bengals and in each province they were associated with peoples speaking different languages like the Beharees and the Assamiese. Even after the union of Bengal

consequent on the formation of the new province of Behar and Orissa, the Oriya-speaking people lie scattered over no less than four provincial administrations. Such divisions of the country do no social good to the people.

We have elsewhere shown how the re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis will be of positive benefit to their administration ; in this connection we propose to emphasise how such a step will establish the indigenous languages on a strong basis, ■ the Government will be able to pay more attention to the education of the people through the medium of the language of the province. Besides, if a province has four or five languages it is difficult to publish Government literature in each native language ; but if the provincial government has to deal only with one language it can do more in that direction. Speaking on this subject and its connection with the reorganisation of Indian economic relations, Mr. S. V. Ketkar says in his book "Indian Economics" (p. 98) : "When the political divisions are made on rational principles and when the Indian languages are given their due, then the Indian civilisation will begin to be built. Whatever we may take from the Westerners in their scientific achievements is to be made available to the people of India through the media of their ■■■■ languages. Raising the indigenous languages will raise the majority—the bulk of the people, to importance. When once the indigenous majority asserts politically and socially, the

uniformity of life in the population will rapidly progress. The minorities will be brought to ■ standard norm, and the economic relations will be reorganised, and the period, when Indian economics ■ opposed to tribal economics will be an article of reality, will be inaugurated."

Such as well ■ other weighty reasons have led to the inauguration of movements for administrative union and separate province in the case of numerous peoples. The Bengalees who were divided into two provinces in 1903 were reunited in the year 1911 under one administration. The Oriyas who started their agitation for union of all Oriya-speaking tracts succeeded in amalgamating the district of Sambalpur to Orissa, but other Oriya tracts scattered in four provincial administrations still demand union. The Beharees have achieved success in 1911 in ■ similar campaign for ■ separate province and they remain now united under one government with Orissa and Chota Nagpur. The Andhras who began their agitation for a separate province in 1911 since the modification of the Partition of Bengal are vigorously pushing their propaganda. The Canarese, the Sindhis, and the Marathis also are similarly engaged in demanding separate provinces.

We have already stated that though the Government of India has shown ■ great sympathy, it has nevertheless shown ■ opposition to the principle of linguistic distribution of the provinces. On the other hand, ■ is amply evidenced by the M. C. Report,

the Government has clearly recognised the advisability of dividing territories according to language for their administrative convenience. The Government in 1874 detached three Telugu speaking taluks of the Central Provinces and attached them to the Godavari District in Madras. To suit similar, convenience Assam has changed hands twice in the course of a decade. Bengal was reunited on the strength of the same principle. Lord Hardinge, the late Viceroy of India, in his Despatch to the Home Government in August 1911 recognised the same principle when he proposed separation of Behar from Bengal and the modification of the partition of the latter province. Nearer home the case of Sambalpur which was in the Central Provinces till 1903 but which was amalgamated with Orissa is a case in point. The Government of Madras has recently meddled with the boundaries of the Malayalee-speaking districts. In utter disregard of all such precedents and in spite of the fact that the agitation of the Oriyas is older than that of the Bengalees, who along with other communities such as the Beharees could gain their end, the prayer of the Oriyas for a separate province has not been heard. What is more, an injustice has since been done to them in keeping them united with Behar. The authors of the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* have admitted in paragraph 41, without the possibility of a doubt, the palpable injustice of such a combination, in that the union was not effected with a view to the well-being of the

people of Orissa but on grounds of sheer administrative expediency. Says the Report (para. 41) : "The newest creation is Behar and Orissa, ■ product of the remodification of Bengal in 1912. The attachment of Orissa to the rest of the province was dictated by the need of providing for areas which the new presidency could not absorb rather than by considerations of convenience or economy."

We have pointed out above that though the Government have not actively supported the idea of ■ linguistic distribution of provincial areas, still they have in ■ way shown distinct sympathy towards the movement ■ is evidenced by the remarkably neutral attitude they maintained in regard to ■ resolution in the Indian Legislative Council moved by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma on 6-2-18. It is noteworthy that scarcely a single member, official or non-official, took exception to the proposal on principle, though in fact opposition was offered on the ground that the subject was either academic or inexpedient, or immature. It would be interesting in this connection to note the very special stress laid on the acuteness of the problem of the Oriyas by two or three non-official members of Council. The Hon'ble Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar in speaking on the resolution emphatically drew the attention of the Government in saying that "more than the Andhras, the Oriyas have good cause to complain. Their districts are divided among the three (more correctly, four) provinces of Behar, Bengal, and Madras. It is but just

that they should be grouped and amalgamated with either Bengal or Behar."

The authors of the Report have laid down that any plan of provincial states which may be given effect to in future should be determined by linguistic considerations and have made it incumbent on the reformed provincial governments to bring about such reform, though, of course, they have conceded the urgency of effecting the demands of the people of Berar and of Orissa in the immediate future. What they say in regard to such a state of things facilitating a development of the country on the best lines possible, is of great interest: "We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogenous ; and when we bear in mind the prospect of the immense burdens of government in India being transferred to comparatively inexperienced hands such considerations acquire additional weight. It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the Vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the [redacted] of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English". This is indeed a glowing prospect and is far in advance of Indian politicians themselves, in certain respects .

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GENIUS OF THE PEOPLE AS REFLECTED IN THEIR ART AND LITERATURE.

(i)—ORISSAN ARCHITECTURE & ITS UNITY.

Orissa has been all along known ■ the *Punya Bhumi* of India ; and the Oriyas feel that the sacredness and sanctity attaching to their country has been defiled by the administrative vivisection which it has suffered at the hands of the British conquerors. In spite of the disintegrating forces which have been at work as ■ result of this dismemberment, a living and fundamental sense of unity has yet been fostered by all the hallowed spots and shrines scattered through the length and breadth of the country. As distinct from other parts of Bharatvarsha the land of the Oriyas presents the spectacle of ■ marked religious entity. The author of the article on "Orissa" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XVII., p. 845, waxes eloquent on this aspect of the country in the following strain : "The whole of Orissa is holy ground. On the southern bank of the Baitarani shrine rises after shrine in honour of Shiva, the All-Destroyer. On leaving the stream the pilgrim enters Jajpur, literally the city of sacrifice, the Head Quarters of the region of pilgrimage sacred to the wife of the All-

Destroyer. There is not a fiscal division in Orissa without its community of cenobites, scarcely a village without consecrated lands, and not a single ancient family that has not devoted its best to the gods. Every town is filled with temples, and every hamlet has its shrine. The national reverence of the Hindus for holy places has been for ages concentrated on Puri sacred to Vishnu under his title of Jagannath, the Lord of the World". Col. Kittoe in one of his writings (J. A. S. B.) also says : "The province of Orissa boasts of more ancient temples, sacred spots and relics than any other in Hindustan ; and though many of its more noted antiquities are well known to us, yet there is reason to believe that some (perhaps even more worthy of notice) remain hidden". Mr. M. M. Ganguly in his *Orissa and Her Remains* also says : "Puri has a pan-Indian influence; people from all parts of India resort to this place to worship the deity and to die perchance, being ' lulled to their last sleep by the roar of the eternal ocean'. Puri is considered by some to be the most sacred place in India, even more sacred than Benares". Mr. R. Ronald in his *Wonders of Architecture* also says regarding Puri that, "it stands in the midst of a sacred country, and in this sacred town is situated the famous temple of Juggernaut the very sight of which is said to bring a blessing upon the head of the spectator, to cure diseases and ensure paradise to those that remain upon its sacred soil.....In those ceremonies, (those relating to the Car Festival) the proud Brahmins

mingle humbly with the lower classes whom they consider impure, ■ great is the Majesty of Juggernaut that all ■ equal before Him, and all social distinctions disappear in presence of his Immensity".

The sanctity with which people regard the *Utkal Desa* is also evident from the manner in which it is divided into kshetras or religious divisions in the Kapila Samhita. For, there, Orissa consists of the four kshetras, Viraj Kshetra or Jajpur, Ekamra Kshetra or Bhuvaneswar, Sri Kshetra otherwise known ■ Purushottam Kshetra or Puri, and Arka Kshetra or Konarak. It is these holy places that the hearts of the Oriya people long after in whatever clime or country they may for the moment be situated.

This religious instinct of the people found the most suitable and ready expression in the domain of architecture, an architecture pre-eminently of ■ devotional character. The genius of the people expressed itself not in the Memorial form of architecture ■ in the Taj Mahal, not in the Civil ■ in the modern state buildings, not in the Military as in the Fort of Delhi, not in the Domestic ■ in the Government House at Calcutta or the palaces of the princes or the nobility, but remarkably in the Devotional type of architecture —that is, the first of the five types of architecture ■ classified by Mr. Ruskin [See *Seven Lamps of Architecture*]. It is on this account that all the monarchs of Orissa and the people whom they ruled were renowned builders of temples where was enshrined

that sublime spirit of dedication to the Supreme Being, which is their national characteristic.

The monarchs both of the Kesari and the Ganga dynasties have filled the land with innumerable shrines, standing monuments of their devotion. Ward speaking of Bhuvaneswar in his work on the Hindus says that it is "a place on the borders of Orissa containing six thousand temples dedicated to Siva". And Mr. Stirling also says, "If we are to judge of its extent and populousness during the period that it formed the seat of government of the Kesari Vamsa, from the almost countless multitude of temples which are crowded within the sacred limits of *panchkosi*, we might pronounce it to have been in the days of its splendour one of the greatest cities which India ever saw"; and he adds that "the temple of Lingaraj at Bhuvaneswar is both the finest monument of antiquity which the province contains, and likewise indisputably the most ancient. It took 43 years to build." And the temple of Jagannath, or the White Pagoda as the mariners at sea call it, built at Puri by Anangbhima Deo has cost to the country 50 lakhs of rupees, while the Black Pagoda at Konarak built by Narsing Deo, another of the Gangavamsa kings, absorbed the revenue of not less than twelve years (see *Ain-i-Akbari*). Mr. M. M. Ganguly while speaking of the ancient grandeur of Konarak says: "It will be seen that the Prachi river had on its banks flourishing towns and villages containing massive temples; so Konarka by reason of its close proximity to the

Prachi and by reason of its being an important *Kshetra* or sacred place containing the magnificent temple the world has ever seen, might be reasonably supposed to be the site of a big and prosperous town whose name reached far and wide." And Sir Richard Temple speaking in *India of 1880* also says: "On the sea-shore of Orissa, stands the Black Pagoda, so called by mariners at sea who regard it as a landmark. It is a noble ruin, although what is now seen is only the vestibule of the great temple itself. There has been doubt felt by some as to whether the structure was ever completed, or after completion, sank from failure of the foundations laid in a sandy soil; it probably was completed. If finished in the same proportions and detail with which it was begun, it must have been one of the most beautiful buildings ever raised by Hindu hands. The ruin inspires sentiments tinged with melancholy standing as it does near the beach with the billowy sands surging round it and within sound of the waves".

The Orissa monarchs have carried alongside of their conquests and territorial extensions this characteristic instinct to build temples. The clearest indications of the farthest limits of such extensions on all sides are furnished by the remains of the temples built by them. The author of the "*Nellore District Gazetteer*" mentions that Langula Gajapati, Markat Rudra, Pratap Rudra, and Purushottam Rudra, who had their seat of Government at Cuttack, had exercised their sway over the Nellore and the Cuddapah

Subahs and have constructed many pagodas, 360 of which were destroyed by Muslims and but 3 of which still survive in the village of Udayagiri, one of them being at the foot of the Udayagiri *durg*. The shrine at Simhachal in the Vizagpatam District was likewise built by an Oriya monarch, Langula Narasinha, and is "the most famous, richest, and the best sculptured in the Telugu country." On the north in Midnapore the Oriya influence is distinctly traceable in the majority of the old temples, ■ might be expected from the fact that the Oriyas held the district for several centuries. The Orissan style of architecture obtains at Garhbeta in the extreme north, at Dantan, Chandrarekhagarh in the south-west, and at Tamluk. Near Dantan there are two fine tanks which were excavated during the period of Oriya rule. An old mosque at Ganeswar near the Kasiari outpost appears originally to have been a Hindu temple built in the time of Kapileswar Dev (1434—1469 A.D.). The Bidyadhar tank at Dantan is excavated by Bidyadhar minister of Pratap Rudra Deo and of Mukund Deo of Orissa. At Egra ■ Siva temple ■ constructed by Mukund Deo. The temple of Bargabhima is of the Orissan style of architecture and is modelled after the temple of Puri. Raja Harichandan Mukund Deo was apparently in possession of the country ■ far north as Tribeni where ■ broad flight of steps leading down to the Ganges is said to have been constructed under his orders in 1568 ; and Tribeni ■ this account is held

in high estimation by the people of Orissa [See *Midnapore District Gazetteer*]. On the west, in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces ■ temple at Sihawa is said to have been built by ■ raja from Jagannath, and it is held by some, on the strength of an inscription on ■ temple to Lakshmana, that the Sirpur Dynasty is identical with the Soma Vamsa of Cuttack. And at Nagari there are remains of an old fort, and the story goes that this was the first village the Kanker family occupied when they migrated from Puri in Orissa. [See *Raipur District Gazetteer* by Mr. A. E. Nelson].

It will be readily seen from the above that ■ clear architectural unity can be noticed throughout Natural Orissa. From one end to another, the country is studded with temples and tabernacles. This is borne out by ■ remark of the author of the *Vizagpatam District Gazetteer* that, "while in Ganjam (an Oriya district) and further north scarcely ■ village is found in which there is not ■ temple or ■ substantial building containing the image of Shiva or Vishnu, in Vizagpatam there is not ■ village in ■ hundred where such can be found". This idea of architectural unity is noticeable in the purity which is such ■ distinguishing feature in Orissan architecture. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa* after examining the extant pieces of Orissan architecture according to the canons laid down in Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture has found that the art has reached perfection, and he has come to the conclu-

sion that it is the purest and the most indigenous. He calls the Orissan temples specially lamps of Memory — in them "the feelings, . . . the religion, the habits of life, and the social condition of ■ bygone age of the Oriya people are reflected". Similarly Mr. Fergusson in his *Indian and Eastern Architecture* writes: "In Orissa the style is perfectly pure, being unmixed with any other, and thus forms one of the most compact and homogenous architectural groups in India and ■ such of more than usual interest, and it is consequently in this province that the style can be studied to the greatest advantage". And in another connection, contrasting the design of its temples with the southern ones, he says: "They give a unity and purpose to the whole design, so frequently wanting in the south." Mr. Manmohan Ganguly also in his *Orissa and Her Remains* has likewise proved that the Orissan sub-group of Indo-Aryan style of architecture is purest in its form ; and ■ an apology for choosing Orissa and not Bengal or any other province ■ the scene of investigations says: "I am inclined to think that Orissa has far ■■■■■ glorious traditions of past history than Bengal may possibly claim, and that she occupied ■ more prominent place than Bengal in the hierarchy of nations." He further adds, "to a student of architecture, it (Orissa) is important by reason of its being the seat of Indo-Aryan style in its purest form ; here we do not notice the least vestige of foreign influence. It has maintained its native purity marvellously, being

nurtured and reared on the very soil where it grew without any extraneous aid. This is really ■ marvel in the history of architecture, the like of which we rarely come across".

(ii)—THE IMPORTANCE OF ORISSAN LITERATURE.

The literature in the past of the Oriyas has been very remarkable for the prominent tone of devotion and catholicity which characterises it. As Sanskrit drifted more and more from the colloquial speeches the writing of works in that language was found to be difficult, and though the people, especially of the lower classes, continued to study Sanskrit on account of its high cultivation, they turned their attention to the simple and familiar vernacular for compositions [Mr. M. M. Chakravarti, J.A.S.B., lxv.]. A further help was received in this direction from the spread of Vaishnavism. As Mr. John Beames says, "the great religious revival in India in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries with which the name of Chaitanya is inseparably connected throughout Orissa and Bengal turned the current of popular thought in the direction of the worship of Krishna.....It is to the Vaishnavas in all parts of India that we owe the earliest and the most copious outpourings of poetic thought." That catholicity and spirit of democracy which found expression in ■ literature contributed to by people in the lower rungs of the social ladder is further illustrated in the unique custom prevalent in the temple at Puri where the Chandala and the

Brahmin dine as equals and none pays any regard to rules of caste.

While the catholicity of the Oriya mind became reflected in the vernacular as the medium of literary composition, a spirit of devotion uniformly characterises these literary compositions ; and this is to be seen not only in the earlier songs like the *Kesav Koeli* of Markand Das, the articulations of man's heart deeply moved, but also in the later religious poems such as the *Bhagawat* of Jagannath Das which have their origin in the religious yearnings of the people. The importance of such religious poems lies in the fact that "they have supplied the bulk of the religious and mythological information to a strongly religious people, from generation to generation. They have influenced all castes in all ages". "The *Bhagawat-purana* is the most sacred book of the Vaishnavas, their Bible or Quoran. The Oriyas are mostly Vaishnavas and hence the Oriya *Bhagawat* enjoys an immense popularity" [M. M. Chakravarti]. These factors are largely responsible for that peculiar psychology of the Oriya who above everything else is a lover of indigenous culture. This comparatively conservative temperament does not make him easily amenable to non-indigenous and outlandish cultural forces unless the latter are thoroughly assimilated, and become part and parcel of his own civilisation and culture. Unlike other Indian peoples who are of commercial instincts or are emotionally disposed, the Oriyas are not by nature social

or intellectual rebels. They cannot easily break away from their traditions or their past ; and the acquisition of modern knowledge is based on the superstructure of their peculiar culture and traditions. A people whose very growth is constitutionally so based on such solid foundations is ■ valuable asset to the larger national life of India of which they form a part. It is for this reason obvious that by their very nature they constitute a genuinely moderating influence in any political or other national activity. By this it is not, however, suggested that Orissa cannot imbibe enlightened ideas of modern civilisation; for, in a tract where social equality is so prominent problems of the kind that distract the social life of the provinces such as those of the south do not trouble Orissa, and hence progress is eminently possible in its case. Thus while Orissa is ■ sobering influence, it is at the same time equally progressive in its tendency. This sobering and this unifying of the disintegrating forces are its heritage. The imbuing of ■ sense of religiosity to all national activities is its contribution.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PROPOSED SCHEME.

In the preceding chapters we have dwelt at length on the evils resulting from the administrative dismemberment of the Oriya country. It is our emphatic conviction that for a final solution of all the manifold grievances to which the Oriyas are subjected, the several Oriya-speaking tracts should be brought together and united under a single administration.

The three important factors that go to determine the form of a provincial government are—(1) Area, (2) Population, and (3) Finance. Excluding the question of finance which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter, neither in territory nor in population would the Oriya-speaking tracts be insufficient for administration by a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The total area of such a united Orissa would be over 89,000 square miles, while the total population included in that area would be nearly 15 millions. The table appended hereunto will give the reader an idea as to what tracts constitute the proposed united Orissa.

The map illustrating the table given as frontispiece will explain in detail the extent of the country proposed to be enfolded in a separate province of Orissa.

THE PROPOSED SCHEME

Oriya Tracts.	Area in Sq. miles.	Total Population in 1911.	Oriya Population.	Aboriginal Population likely to be absorbed by Oriya.
	1	2	3	4
BHAR & ORUSSA.				
1. Odissa Division ...	13,743	5,131,753	4,771,984	...
2. Orissa Feudatory States—24 ...	28,046	3,796,563	2,871,730	...
3. Singhbhum District ■ Chota Nagpur Division ...	3,891	694,394	124,593	Mostly aboriginal.
4. Saraikala and Kharawad States in Chota Nagpur ...	602	148,646	43,058	Do.
MADRAS.				
5. Ganjam District except the Telugu Taluk of Chicacole	(a) 4,200	1,004,709	1,426,534	(b) 72,716
6. Ganjam Agency ...	3,484	350,466	132,392	212,074
7. Vizagapatam Agency ...	(c) 12,621	1,020,151	473,437	476,088, mostly Khondas.
Carried ■ ...	66,587	12,746,682	9,843,728	

(a) As no separate figure for the ■ of Chicacole Taluk was available, this figure is got by striking out a proportion in accordance with population.

(b) As the census enumerations of 1911 ■ manifestly incorrect (See Appendix), this figure is got by including the possible increase in the ten years 1901—1911 proportionately with increase in the total population. For all purposes Chicacole Taluk is taken ■ purely Telugu-speaking.

(c) The whole of this Agency is not Oriya-speaking. The ■ comprised by the Jeypore Zamindari includes the whole Koraput Division and portions of the agency tracts in Parvatipore Division. ■ the

Aboriginal Population likely to be absorbed by Oriya.			
Oriya Tracts.	Area in Sq. miles.	Total Population in 1911.	Oriya Population.
1	2	3	4
Brought forward	... CENTRAL PROVINCES.	12,746,682	9,843,728
8.	Chandrapur-Padmapur & Mal-Khorda, Phuljhar and Kharar zamindaries etc. ...	1,822	266,344
9.	Bastar, Sambalpur and Jashpur States	18,056	993,552
	BENGAL.		
10.	Contai sub-division; Dantan, Gopiballabhpur, Narayan-garh, Jhargao and Binpur thanas—all of Midnapore District ...	2,564	1,243,580
	TOTAL		
i	British Territory ...	89,029	15,250,158
ii	States ...	42,325 46,704	10,311,397 4,938,761
		...	7,641,100 3,016,810

taluk of Bobbili and the plain areas of the Salur and Parvatiपore talukas are left out, the rest of the division is Orya. The figures in cols. 2 and 3 would be 11,421 and 793,826 respectively.

(d) As there is a remarkable fall in the Oriya population of these tracts indicating an unwholesome Bengalisation, the figure of 1891 is given ■ being a better approximation of the correct population.

The Oriya tracts included under items 1, 2, 3, and 4 in the table will be bodily taken over into the future province of Orissa with scarcely any alterations made in their political boundaries, inasmuch as the Oriya and the Oriya—assimilating people (the aborigines) form practically the entire or the majority of the population in these tracts. Of the two northernmost districts of Madras Presidency, Ganjam and Vizagpatam, the whole of Ganjam with its agency tracts, excluding the revenue taluq of Chicacole which belongs to the southernmost of its five divisions has been included. The reason for the exclusion of the latter taluq is that the majority of its population is Telugu. The Madras Government also have declared, "Telugu is the vernacular in the south-east of the district, but the total number of persons whose mother-tongue is Telugu is understood to represent only 17·6 per cent. of the population of the district". [Vide Legislative Proceedings, P.73, Fort St. George Gazette, dated 7th March 1911]. It may again be pointed out here that the bulk of this 17·6 per cent. of the population is found in a compact area of the district covered by the Chicacole Taluq proposed to be left under Madras administration. The zamindaries of Chandrapur-Padmapur and Mal-khorda in the Bilaspur District and those of Phuljhar and Khariar in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces are mostly Oriya-speaking ; while the states of Bastar, Saranggarh, Raigarh, Udaipur, and Jashpur are included in the Oriya area on the ground that

Oriya forms ■ important language in these states bidding fair to assimilate most of the aboriginal tribes therein and that the ruling chiefs of those states are Oriya. The Oriya tracts of the Midnapore District in Bengal are demarcated by the River Haldi on the north, which forms the natural boundary of the future Orissa province.

In the above scheme certain tracts peopled by aboriginal tribes such as the Khonds and the Savaras have been included as they form elements of population likely to be assimilated by the Oriyas. The efforts of the Government to bring about such an assimilation by the spread of Oriya education among them and the natural tendency among themselves to merge their identity in the Oriya community are two potent causes justifying their inclusion in the Oriya province.

The tracts which are directly under British administration included in the table will be equivalent in area to nearly ten ordinary Indian districts ; and this with the large area under the Feudatory Chiefs will go to make up ■ tract of country larger than many of the existing provincial areas.

CHAPTER X.

THE PROPOSED FORM OF ADMINISTRATION.

The Oriyas have all along been agitating for a separate administration ; and they are fully entitled to it by reason of their population and the extent of territory inhabited by them. We venture to suggest that a lieutenant-governorship may very well be created out of the several Oriya tracts now lying scattered in the different provinces of British India. The future province of Orissa which is more than 89,000 square miles in extent is larger in area than the Governorship of Bengal whose extent is 84,092 square miles and can approach in extent to the lieutenant-governorships of Behar and Orissa and the Punjab whose areas are 111,829 and 97,209 square miles respectively. In respect of population, the future Oriya province whose population is over fifteen millions stands on a par with the Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, Bombay, and the Punjab. The populations of these provinces are given below :

Central Provinces & Berar	...	13,916,308
Burma	...	12,115,217
Bombay	...	19,672,642
Punjab	...	19,974,956

N.B.—The population of Assam which is much smaller than the future province of Orissa is only 7,059,857.

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* have suggested in paragraph 218 the creation of governors as heads of provinces, irrespective of the size and population of these provinces. And it is likely that the existing Chief Commissionerships and Lieutenant-Governorships will be converted into Governorships with all the legislative, executive, and judicial machinery — appurtenances. The Oriya-speaking country can very well afford under the conditions contemplated to maintain such a form of administration with a governor at its head, though under the present conditions it may without difficulty enjoy an administration with a lieutenant-governor at the head.

It may be noted that in discussing the question of financial self-sufficiency in the succeeding chapter we have not considered the inclusion of an Executive Council and Revenue Board in the administration, but have made other provisions therefor. The scheme which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford propose in regard to the provincial executive suggests the retention of an executive council which, however, to our advantage will consist of two members, one of them being an Indian for what are called the 'reserved' subjects, and a minister to administer the transferred subjects. The Government as thus proposed will contain the following establishments :—

1. Governor of the status of a lieutenant-governor or at least that of the Chief Com-

- missioner of the Central Provinces, and his staff.
2. Executive Council of two members, and a minister.
 3. Legislative Council.
 4. Financial Commissioner.
 5. Departments of
 - i. Police
 - ii. Jails
 - iii. Excise
 - iv. Civil Hospitals
 - v. Sanitation
 - vi. Education
 - vii. Agriculture
 - viii. Accounts

A Revenue Board has not here been provided for. In fact the question of the cost of administration of the province will be determined by the form of the administration. But in view of the progressive liberalisation of the Indian administration in future and the simplification of its machinery likely thereby to be brought about, the cost of the administration of provinces will not be ~~as~~ large as heretofore. Informed Indian public opinion has already expressed itself in favour of such a reform. The fear entertained in certain quarters that provinces similar to the one proposed in the case of the Oriyas cannot by reason of their financial strength afford to maintain an advanced type of provincial government, is quite untenable. It is fully possible for ~~an~~ Orissa modelled

after the fashion suggested to bear the cost of ■ full-fledged provincial government with all its appurtenances like that which Behar at present enjoys, with comparative ease,

CHAPTER XI.

FINANCIAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF THE FUTURE PROVINCE OF ORISSA.

One of the formidable objections incident on the proposal of a separate administration is the complaint of the financial insufficiency alleged to be inherent in the measure. Provided that the form of administration conferred on a people is made suitable to the needs and capacities of those whose interests the administration has to safeguard, it does not seem in the least unnatural that the administrative arrangements made for such a province should be financially self-sufficient. Orissa like several other administrative units was in the past in the full enjoyment of an autonomous government at once self-contained and efficient. What is more, a substantial surplus — to have been in most cases the invariable rule. As attested by Dr. Hunter [See *Orissa* Vol. I, p. 325, et seq], under the native dynasty, the revenue sufficed to support an administration infinitely more minute and a regards its higher officials infinitely higher paid than at present under British control. He says [*Ibid*] : "Under the Hindu Princes it supported, besides a peasant militia of 300,000 — and a regular army of 50,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 2,500 elephants.....We know from the Mussalman annalists, that the Orissa

king could at a moment's notice take the field with 18,000 horse and foot. But the Public Works of the Hindu Dynasty attest the magnitude of their resources in ■ way that admits of no dispute. Thirty or forty thousand pounds were not considered extravagant for ■ ordinary temple. The accumulations of one monarch (Anang Bhim Deo) are stated at £1,296,750, and from this he set apart £406,250 (1,500,000 *marks* of gold) for the holy edifice of Jagannath. A similar magnificence surrounded the private life of the Orissa kings. Their five royal residences (*kataks*) still live in popular tradition". And Raja Narasinha Deo spent for the building of the Black Pagoda at Konarak *an amount no less than the revenue of twelve years.

It will be easily evident that what was possible in the past will also be possible in the future in perhaps slightly altered conditions.

Similar objections had been raised in the past when proposals were made in 1903 to constitute a separate province with ■ Lieutenant Governor out of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and in 1911 to create the new province of Behar and Orissa. It was persistently alleged that these provinces would not be financially self-sufficient when called upon to maintain an additional number of highly paid civil servants, buildings and other equipment. But the result in each case has unmistakably demonstrated the inherent defects in such a line of argument.

In Assam which was ■ Chief Commissionership, the cost of administration prior to the formation of a

separate province, when the Partition of Bengal was effected, was Rs. 4,76,885. The cost of a full-fledged administration of a lieutenant-governorship as estimated by Lord Curzon [see Parliamentary Blue Book, 5028, in continuation of Cd. 2746] was only Rs. 13,35,559 ; and Lord Curzon undertook to meet the additional charge of about 8½ lakhs thus incurred by allotting grants from the Imperial surpluses assuring the people at the same time that there would not be separate taxation on them on account of the creation of the province. The deficit in the case of Behar and Orissa also was met in ■ like manner. It was, however, also suggested in this case that ordinary loans might be taken when necessary by the Provincial Government to be liquidated gradually from the provincial revenues.

But in the case of the future Orissa the cost of ■ separate administration ■ is suggested for it will not be great. The number of Civil Servants which administers its present needs in the several Oriya-speaking tracts will with slight changes continue to govern the land ; so that no appreciable additional expenditure will be found necessary on this head. Every department of the Government will not require a separate or a new building for its establishment. With necessary changes the present buildings at Cuttack, the seat of the Orissa Commissionership can be made to serve the needs of the future as well, with extensions in certain respects where needed. The revenue now utilised of the existing five districts of

the Orissa Division and that of the fast developing Oriya district of Singhbhum in Chota Nagpur Division, all in the province of Behar and Orissa will be further supplemented by the revenue of the fertile district of Ganjam and of Vizagpatam Agency, as also by the revenue of the Oriya tracts in the Central Provinces and Midnapore.

What is more, a great reduction will easily be effected in the Administrative and Secretariat establishments when a separate province is created. If with the retention of a full-fledged executive government with an Executive Council, Revenue Board, etc., the revenues at the disposal of the Orissa Government will not suffice, these establishments may considerably be reduced yielding thereby a substantial economy. The Government of the United Provinces, the most populous and at the same time admittedly an enlightened and progressive province has no Executive Council attached to it. Punjab and Burma have no Executive Councils. The province of Bengal previous to Lord Curzon's partition had no Executive Council. Thus the existence of an Executive Council in a province though affording an amount of convenience to the administration is under ordinary circumstances no sure guarantee for a beneficent Government. We do not of course disparage the provision of an Executive Council for the Government of a province, but the fat salaries which members of this Council draw with no adequate return to the population is a definite hardship on them, most

especially when the [redacted] drawn from the people and their capacity to contribute to them happen to be [redacted] slender. On the other hand, under the present constitution, instances are not rare of Executive Councils in the Provincial [redacted] well as the Imperial Governments proving definitely hostile to popular measures and aspirations and becoming non-progressive and not unoften despotic. Thus the benevolent intentions and the personal attachments to the people of governors and viceroys have often been frustrated by the non-progressive tendencies of these councillors. In the proposed province of Orissa, therefore, secretaries without difficulty might be made as in so many cases elsewhere to execute all the work now done by an executive council, of course, if things continue [redacted] at present.

A Board of Revenue may likewise be dispensed with in the future province of Orissa, and the office of what is known as a Financial Commissioner instituted instead. There [redacted] three kinds of Revenue Courts of Appeal——(1) The Chief Commissioner if he is the head of the province, constituting himself into a Court, (2) Financial Commissioner, and (3) Board of Revenue. The suggestion of a Chief Commissioner need not here be considered [redacted] that is not the kind of provincial head which is asked for in our scheme. Further no appeals in which the parties can appear in person [redacted] lie with a Chief Commissioner. In the case of a Board of Revenue, which usually consists of two members, though no doubt revenue

appeals can be made and the parties can appear in person even with lawyers to assist them, there is a peculiar disadvantage in that the members constituting the Board are entrusted with definite portions of the work of the Board, never making it necessary or possible for the members to consult together on any important question referred to them and to work in co-ordination. In fact, the Board is not strictly a board but a number of officers each working severally and having no relation with one another's portions of work. In the case of a Financial Commissioner, a type of institution which obtains in the Central Provinces, Burma, Punjab, and elsewhere, the parties in a revenue appeal have the privilege of appearing in person with the assistance of a lawyer if necessary. A Financial Commissioner like members of the Board of Revenue has the additional advantage of local experience in the province and can effectively deal with questions referred for consideration to him—an advantage not shared by a Chief Commissioner constituted into a Court of appeal by reason of his previous service in a different province. A Board of Revenue is perhaps necessary in the case of a very large province, but assuredly not in a province of the type we have been suggesting.

In view of the progressive Indianisation of the services in the country contemplated alike by the rulers and the ruled, the cost of administration will gradually diminish with the replacement by Indians of the foreign elements which now predominate the

services. It should in this connection be remembered that India maintains the costliest Civil Service in the whole civilised world. This state of things must sooner or later improve so that the capacity of the people to maintain such a service will be greater. Secondly with the future liberalisation in the constitution of the Government aimed at, a gradual devolution of power will be made to local bodies inevitably reducing the present cost of the Government. If the services such as Engineering etc. be amalgamated as a result of such decentralisation, it will be productive of a great deal of economy. Thus in a variety of ways there are possibilities of economy in the cost of the future administration of Orissa.

We shall now examine the present revenues of the Oriya-speaking tracts proposed to be united under a separate administration and consider how far the expenditure necessary can be met from the reverues. We take only the main heads of revenue into consideration in Table I annexed hereunto :—

The Revenues of

TABLE

(IN

Serial No.	Name of tract. 1	Land Revenue. 2	Land Cess 3	Income Tax. 4
1.	Cuttack—(1904—5)	... ...	12,11,384	1,56,227
2.	Puri—(1906—7)	... ...	7,41,000	71,500
3.	Balasore—(1905—6)	... ...	6,62,000	81,000
4.	Angul—(1906—7)	... ...	85,000	■
5.	Sambalpur—(1907—8)	... ...	2,27,827	15,108-14-2 (1918—19)
6.	Singhbhum—(1907—8)	... ...	1,77,724 (Including rates in Col. 3 1901—2)	12,000
7.	Ganjam District Agency—(1918—19) Including	... ...	13,27,231	4,10,303 (Including Ry. Cess)
8.	Vizagapatam Agency—(1917—18)	... ... ... ...	1	60,045-13-4
Carried ■	... ...	44,32,166	7,94,184-11-6	2,33,530

Natural Orissa.

I.

RUPEES.)

(REMARKS.

Excise.	Stamps.	Forest.	Registration.	Re-	
		7		9	given other pro- "a
3,31,407	3,09,373	...	24,732	...	
2,12,000	1,63,000	58,551 (1905—6)	19,069	...	
2,89,000	1,45,000	...	14,535	...	
54,000	17	10,858 (average annual re- venue for ten years ending in 1904—5)	?	...	
1,65,502	55,135	34,542	2,600	...	
1,60,000	29,000	1,90,000	1,207	...	
9,27,701 (1916-17)	4,02,221	80,421 (1917-18)	61,784 (1916)	The second figure in col. 5 is half the Salt reve- — for the Waltair Sub- division.	
11,50,260 (1915-16)					
2,00,000 (app.)	79,000 (app.)	40,000 (app.)	...	The figures in cols. 5, 6 7 are calculated from the district figures in accordance with popu- lation, and they are approximate.	
34,89,870	11,82,729	4,14,372	1,23,927		

TABLE

Serial No.	Name of tract. 1	Land Revenue.	Land Cess.	Income Tax.
		2	3	4
	Brought forward ...	44,32,166	7,94,184-11-6	2,33,530
1.	Contain sub-division of the Midnapore District in Bengal (1,792 sq., miles)—(1907—8)	7,81,700	1,18,500	27,350
10.	i Khariar and Phuljher in Raipur District (other tracts omitted)—(1907—8) ...	...	2,330 $\frac{3}{4}$	2,000
	ii Malkhorda and Chandra-pur-Padmapur zamindaries in Bilaspur District—(1907—8) ...	...	241	■
	TOTAL	52,19,866	9,15,256 (app.)	2,63,810
	I. TOTAL REVENUE ...	...	...	...

I.—(Contd.)

Excise.	Stamps.	Forest.	Regis- tration.	REMARKS.
5	6	7	8	9
34,89,870	11,82,729	4,14,372	1,23,927	
1,46,600	3,09,700	?	22,446	Got from figures given in the <i>District Gazetteer</i> by calculation in pro- portion of relative area to the whole district. Contai S. D. is the most fertile in the district. The other Oriya tracts are not taken into con- sideration for present purposes.
55,370	14,500	12,330	1,000	Figures in cols. 5 to 8 got by calculation from the whole district figures in proportion to the population of these tracts.
15,820	7,280	3,530	90	Do.
37,07,660	15,14,209	4,30,232	1,47,463	
...	...	...	121,92,496.	

TABLE II.

Serial No.	Name of tract.	Revenue paid to the Government.		REMARKS.
1.	Oriya Feudatory States—24	—	86,000	Tribute. The states of Sarai-kala and Kharaswan in Chota Nagpur pay no tribute.
2.	C. P. States—5	... ...	30,555	Tribute.
3.	Ganjam zamindaries and estates	... ...	5,41,476	Pieshcush including Quit rent etc.
4.	Jeypore Zamindary in the Vizagapatam Agency	... ...	15,850-14-10	Pieshcush.
5.	Permanently settled estates in Cuttack, Puri and Berasore	... ...	over 1,35,000	Pieshcush.
6.	Khariar and Phuljhar Zamindaries in C. P.	... ...	6,000 + 8,735	Takoli.
7.	Chandrapur-Padampur and Mal-Khorda Zamindaries in C. P.	... ...	2,157	Takoli (approximate).
	II. TOTAL	...	8,25,774 app.	
Grand Total (sum of totals in Tables I. & II.)		...	...	121,92,496 8,25,774
				Rs. 130,18,270

EXPLANATORY NOTE.—It may be noted that in addition to the revenue tabulated under the above heads, sources of income relating to provincial portion of excise in the case of Ganjam, customs, local self-government, receipts from civil departments and productive public works have to be included. The revenue under the several heads from the Telugu taluq, of Chicacole proposed to be left out of the Orissa province has been included in Table I, as separate figures were not available. It will, however be amply counterbalanced by the large revenues under the heads not included in the Tables. Excepting the five zamindaries of the Central Provinces, the entire revenue from ■ few Oriya-speaking khalsa villages of the Raipur and Bilaspur districts have not been included.

The total figure thus got is only ■ very crude estimate of the revenue of Orissa based ■ it is on the income under the major heads. The Central Provinces had a total revenue (including major and miscellaneous heads) of Rs. 102,47,567. The District of Sambalpore which is now severed from the province has ■ revenue (including Land Revenue, Excise, Income Tax, Stamps, Registration, and Forest) of 4,94,522 rupees (1907—8). Deducting this amount from the revenue of the Central Provinces, we get Rs. 97,53,045. But as we have seen, the revenue of the Oriya country of about the same period is larger than this by Rs. 32,65,225. Even, if we add the revenue of Berar which ■ ceded in 1902 to the

Central Provinces the total does not much exceed the estimated revenues of the Oriya country of about the same period. For, we get

Revenue of Central Provinces	...	102,47,567
minus Revenue of Sambalpur	...	4,94,522
		—————
		97,53,045
<i>plus</i> Revenue of Berar <i>minus</i> rental paid to the Nizam (25 lakhs)	...	70,87,818
		—————
		Rs. 168,40,863

[The figures for the revenue of the Central Provinces and Berar are taken from the letter from B. Robertson, Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 2646-A, General Department, dated 16th March 1904—quoted in Blue book "Further papers relating to the reconstitution of the provinces of Bengal and Assam."]

The Chief Commissionership of Assam likewise prior to the amalgamation of the tract with East Bengal ■ it now exists had ■ revenue of Rs. 128 lakhs, including Rs. 68 lakhs land revenue. [See Blue-book Cd-2658, 'Papers relating to the reconstitution of the provinces of Bengal and Assam', 1905]. These figures demonstrate how ■ separate province for Orissa is financially possible.

But the revenue of Orissa estimated as indicated above has undoubtedly grown by rapid strides in

recent years. A progressive province like Orissa amply provided — it is by natural resources is bound to yield more revenue with the advance of years, and the taxable capacity will grow yearly, thus throwing into the background provinces like the comparatively backward Central Provinces. When a separate province is created out of the Oriya-speaking tracts, it is but natural to anticipate that the settlement regarding the revenue heads between Provincial and Imperial Governments and the Provincial contributions to the latter will be decidedly favourable to the new province. This has been the case in Burma, in Lord Curzon's province of East Bengal and Assam, and in the present province of Behar and Orissa, when these provinces were newly created. Furthermore, special concessions are likely to be shown by the Government of India to a new province, especially in connection with the initial expenditure by meeting them from the annual surpluses of the India Government ; and even recurring charges might be met in a similar manner. Added to these, the province might be empowered to take ordinary loans to meet any special expenditure that might be necessary. All these may also be supplemented by taxing those sources of income that might without inconvenience bear taxation.

Though we can take the area and population of the Feudatory States into computation when we consider the case of a separate province for the Oriya-speaking territory, we cannot so include the revenues

of these states, as the Government has no direct relation with these revenues. Otherwise the large sum of Rs. 5,362,236, which is the estimated revenue of the 31 Oriya Feudatory States would have swollen the revenue to a very great extent. This is a special drawback of the Oriya community, — nowhere else such a large number of native states are found to complicate the nature of the people's cause to such an extent.

From all these considerations, we maintain that the cost of a separate administration can be met by the revenues themselves of the Oriya country. The provincial administration will contain the following establishments :

- (1) Lieutenant-Governor and his staff.
- (2) The Civil Secretaries.
- (3) Legislative Council.
- (4) Financial Commissioner
- (5) Departments of
 - (i) Police
 - (ii) Jails
 - (iii) Excise
 - (iv) Civil Hospitals
 - (v) Sanitation
 - (vi) Education
 - (vii) Agriculture
 - (viii) Accounts ;

and on the analogy of Statement No. IV.—*Estimate of Cost for the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam brought into being by Lord Curzon*, the probable cost

of these establishments will be 13 lacs and odd rupees (for, this was the estimated cost of the proposed Assam administration). The cost of the Assam administration prior to the formation of this new province was nearly 5 lacs—the deficit thus created, as we have seen, being proposed to be met by the Government of India. When thus the cost of administration of ■ small and backward province like that of Assam, whose area at this time was only 56,000 square miles, was about 5 lacs, the present cost of administration of the Oriya country, whose area ■ tabulated in Chapter IX. is over 89,000 square miles, must necessarily be far larger than that of Assam. Thus it will be evident that the deficit on account of maintaining an administration of the form suggested by Lord Curzon will in the case of the future province of Orissa be far less than was foreshadowed in the case of Assam.

The Report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on the Indian Constitutional Reforms proposes that the divided heads which now obtain be abolished and that a contribution by the provinces be paid to the Government of India. The suggestion to abolish the divided heads will substantially be in the interests of the provinces ; because land and excise which constitute two most important sources of revenue will thus be provincialised, ■ also such items as Judicial Stamps and Irrigation. The proposed state of things will help Orissa to maintain with comparative ease a full-fledged and self-contained administration.

Secondly, in the light of the scheme of contribution by the provinces to the Indian exchequer proposed by paragraph 206 of the *Report*, the proportion of the provincial surplus which Orissa will be asked to pay might be made comparatively small, and fixed on ■ basis more or less similar to that suggested for the province of Assam. We plead for such a settlement especially in view of the fact that Orissa is subject to frequent famines, a phenomenon indeed rather rare in Assam,—necessitating drawing upon the net surplus of the province proposed to be constituted. This establishes the claim of the future province for the retention of ■ comparatively large proportion of its net surpluses.

From all these considerations, it becomes patent that a separate province for the Oriya-speaking tracts of the four provincial administrations is eminently possible, provided, of course, the inclination to satisfy this legitimate aspiration of the community ■ ■ whole exists on the part of those in whose hands the destinies of the people lie.*

* On this question of Orissa finance, the reply given in the Behar and Orissa Council to an interpellation by the Hon'ble Bajapunder Das about 2 years ago will be found specially instructive. The Government said that in the Orissa division, the total revenue by major heads for 1916—17 was Rs. 77,76,000 and the total expenditure by major heads for the same year amounted to Rs. 54,49,000. This leaves a surplus of over 22 lacs of rupees. The expenditure does ■ apparently include the indirect expenditure such ■ that ■ the Executive Council, Secretariat etc. In the whole province.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FEUDATORY STATES OF ORISSA.

The Feudatory States of Orissa now consist of the following twenty-four, in addition to the two States which are in the Chota Nagpur Division :—

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Athgarh. | 14. Keonjhar. |
| 2. Baramba. | 15. Mayurbhanj. |
| 3. Dhenkanal. | 16. Athmallik. |
| 4. Hindol. | 17. Pal Lahara. |
| 5. Khandpara. | |
| 6. Narsingpur. | 18. Gangpur. |
| 7. Nayagarh. | 19. Bonai. |
| 8. Nilgiri. | |
| 9. Ranpur. | 20. Patna. |
| 10. Talcher. | 21. Kalahandi. |
| 11. Tigiria. | 22. Sonepur. |
| 12. Baud. | 23. Bamra. |
| 13. Daspalla. | 24. Rairakhol. |

The first eleven entered into treaty engagements with the British in 1803 immediately after the latter's occupation of Orissa. Baud and Daspalla were ceded in 1804. Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj were ceded to the British in 1805 and 1829 respectively. Athmallik and Pal Lahara who were before tributaries to Baud and Keonjhar respectively were both

Recognised as separate States in 1874. These seven states form the largest group of Tributary Mahals, in Orissa, which may be said to have been attached to British Orissa following the cession of the latter by the Mahrattas to the British in 1803—1804. In 1818 the states of Gangpur and Bonai, formerly the feudatories of the Raja of Sambalpur were ceded to the British Government by Madhuji Bhonsla. These states were formerly administered from Chota Nagpur, but in 1905 they were brought within the Orissa Division. Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamra, and Rairakhol which were likewise under the Sambalpur maharaja were brought under British suzerainty in 1818 and were transferred to Orissa in 1905 from the Central Provinces. In 1823, the Chiefs of Saraikala and Kharaswan, two Oriya States in Singhbhum District of the Chota Nagpur Division, recognised the suzerainty of the British. Since 1854 when the South-West Frontier Agency was abolished, the states were under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum subject to the general supervision of the Chota Nagpur Commissioner. The states were transferred in 1916 to the control of the Political Agent of the Orissa Feudatory States.

Thus under the Political Agent of the Orissa Feudatory States, we have twenty-six Oriya States. Besides these, we have included the following five Oriya states which are now under the Central Provinces administration :—

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Bastar. | 3. Raigarh. | 5. Jashpur. |
| 2. Saranggarh. | 4. Udaipore. | |

These five states were ceded to the British in 1818 together with Gangpur and Bonai mentioned above, by Madhuji Bhonsla. Saranggarh and Raigarh along with the five states of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamra, Rairakhol as also Gangpur and Bonai were also called the Sambalpur Garjats ; and "the states of Chota Nagpur belonged politically to two clusters of states known ■ the Sambalpur and Sirguja groups, each of which was once linked together by some sort of feudal tie." The Sirguja group consisted of Udaipur, Jashpur, and three other non-Oriya states. The management of Saranggarh and Raigarh was transferred to the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, Cuttack in 1861, and in 1862 to the Central Provinces where they remain to the present day. The states of Jashpur and Udaipore were transferred from Chota Nagpur to Central Provinces in 1905. Of all these five states, however, Bastar alone seems to have remained intact from ■ very remote period without territorial interference. In 1862 it was given an 'adoption *sangad*', and in 1865 it was recognised ■ feudatory.

As regards the general administration of the states we cannot but quote *in extenso* what is so succinctly yet clearly written on the subject in the 'Feudatory States of Orissa' by L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, 1910 p. 93 : "The Chiefs administer their states in accordance with the provisions of their *sanads*

which define their status, position, and powers. The five Sambalpore States transferred from the Central Provinces in 1905 received their *sanads* in the year 1867. The States formerly known as the Tributary Mahals of Orissa received their *sanads* in 1894, and the States of Gangpur and Bonai in 1899, and in 1908 revised *sanads* were issued to the former states. All the 24 states are now known as the Feudatory States of Orissa.

"The actual powers exercised by the Chiefs vary; in some states the power of imprisonment extends to two years, and all cases of heinous crime are committed to British officers for trial: in other states, the Chiefs exercise full criminal powers, except that in the case of capital sentences the records of the case are submitted for confirmation by the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. The Chiefs, however, are not entitled to try offences in which Europeans are concerned.

"The Chiefs usually invest their chief executive officer, the *diwan* with these powers or somewhat smaller powers and confine themselves to dealing with appellate cases. In the case of the States which from any cause come from time to time under the administration of Government, the Superintendents appointed by Government to be in direct charge of the States, exercise the powers enjoyed by the Chief of the State.

"As regards cases tried by British officers, the warrants of these officers are executable in a British

jail. Those states which do not exercise full criminal powers, commit all cases which they are not entitled to try to a British officer : for the disposal of these cases, the District Officers of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Midnapore, Sambalpur, and Angul and the Political Agent exercise the powers of Sessions Judges, over whom is the Commissioner of Orissa, exercising the functions of a High Court. In the exercise of their residuary jurisdiction British officers are guided by the law of British India, relating to offences and criminal procedure, in so far as it is applicable, and in cases where the Chiefs and their subjects are concerned in so far as it is not inconsistent with any local law or custom.

"The *sanads* provide that the Chiefs shall follow the advice of the officer duly appointed for that purpose by Government and lay down the general principles of administration. The management of excise is specially provided for in all the *sanads* and a prohibition is made against the levying of transit duties on merchandise. All the states are bound to deliver over offenders from British or other territory who take refuge in the states and assist British officers who may pursue offenders within the states."

As regards Saraikala and Kharaswan "the successors of each chief have to pay *nazarāna* to the British Government on succession ; but unlike other Chiefs, they do not pay tribute, though they have on occasions been called upon to provide contingents of troops to aid in suppressing disturbances." Both the

Chiefs possess the power to hear appeals carried to them from the decisions of the judges and magistrates of the states. They exercise the power of ■ first class magistrate in the matter of criminal cases, while in civil matters they enjoy full privilege of decision, though an application for revision of their decisions in the latter case can be preferred before the Political Agent of the Orissa Feudatory States. Though the assistance of a lawyer cannot be requisitioned, and the Political Agent himself cannot directly alter the decisions of the Chiefs, influence may be brought to bear upon the latter to revise their decisions in civil matters.

The five Oriya states of the Central Provinces are under the control of the Political Agent of the Chhattisgarh feudatories, ■ also nine more. The Chiefs are bound to abstain from capital punishments, to submit to the awards of the Political Agent in cases of appeal from their decisions. Though Bastar is exempted from restrictions in regard to judicial matters and in the *sayar* collections, the states of Raigarh and Sarangarh have relinquished these rights in their acknowledgements of fealty. The states of Udaipur and Jashpur which were transferred in 1905 from Chota Nagpur possess much more restricted criminal and judicial powers than the other three states. No acknowledgements of fealty were taken from these states and no right of adoption has been conferred on them. The states aid the British Government in tracing and giving up offenders. They

levy no transit duties on grain, merchandise or any other article of commerce passing through the state. All the states obey the Political Agent, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur or the Chief Commissioner's nominee. [See E. A. de Brett's "Chhatisgarh Feudatories" 1909.]

We now annex a table giving main particulars about the states :—

Account of the

Serial No.	Name of State. 1	Area in sq. miles. 2	Population. 3	Revenue (in rupees). 4	Tribute to the British Govern- ment. 5
1.	Atagada (Atagada)	168	43,784	53,375	2,800
2.	Athmallik (Kaintiragarh)	730	40,753	77,823	730
3.	Bamra (Deogarh)	1,988	129,378	168,481	7,500
4.	Baramba (Baramba)	134	38,260	41,149	1,397
5.	Baud (Baudgarh)	1,264	88,250	95,364	800
6.	Bonai (Bonaigarh)	1,296	38,277	93,759	500
7.	Daspalla (Kunjaban)	568	51,987	71,644	661
8.	Dhenkanal (Dhenkanal)	1,463	273,662	252,970	5,099
9.	Gangpur (Sundargarh)	2,492	238,896	330,477	1,500(?)
10.	Hindol (Hindol)	312	47,180	46,753	551
	Carried over	10,415	984,427	1,251,795	21,538

Feudatory States.

Educational facilities.	Industries etc.	Administration, etc.
	7	
1 M. E. School	?	Patriarchal; has budget system.
1 M. E. School	Iron ore; timber.	Has a diwan; has budget system.
1 H. E. School	Keoline pottery; weaving; sugar; saw-mills at Sirid.	Full criminal powers—death sentences to be confirmed; Budget; Tahsildars and Honorary Magistrates; Has a Famine Fund. ...
1 M. V. School	Silk manufacture, Maniabandha.	
1 M. E. School	Gingelly trade with Ganjam.	First class magisterial powers; A diwan.
Backward	Soap-stone vessels; tusser silk; lac; cotton.	Curtailed powers; Imprisonment for more than 2 years and fine exceeding Rs. 50 require confirmation of Political Agent.
1 M. E. School	...	First Class magistrate. Has a diwan.
1 H. E. School; sericulture; weaving at the State workshop; students abroad	Brass; bell-metal; cotton; tusser; iron; lac.	Second appeals to the Chief.
1 M. E. School	Lime quarries; timber; press for sabai grass; manganese quarries; also coal fields; diamond and gold washings in the beds of rivers.	Curtailed powers; Chief Sessions Judge—death sentences to be confirmed by the Commissioner of Orissa; eldest first class magistrate. ...
1 M. V. School	...	

Account of the

Serial No.	Name of State. 1	Area in sq. miles. 2	Population 3	Revenue (in rupees). 4	Tribute to the British Govern- ment. 5
	Brought forward	10,415	984,427	1,251,795	21,538
11.	Kalahandi (Bhawanipatna)	3,745	350,529	232,868	16,000
12.	Keonjher (Keonjhagarh)	3,096	285,758	379,130	1,710-1-3
13.	Khandpara (Khandpara)	244	69,450	49,795	4,212
14.	Mayurbhanj (Baripada)	4,243	610,383	1,214,895	1,067-11-9
15.	Narsinghpur (Narsinghpur)	199	39,613	66,000	1,450
16.	Nayagarh (Nayagarh)	588	140,779	140,473	5,525
	Carried over ...	22,530	2,480,939	3,334,956	51,502-13

Feudatory States.—(Contd.)

Educational facilities.	Industries etc.	Administration, etc.
	7	
1 H. E. School	Heavy export trade in grain. Most of the imported trade comes from Parvatiipore.	Full criminal powers; capital sentences submitted to Commissioner of Orissa for confirmation.
2 M. E. Schools	Tusser; hide and horns trade in the hands of Muhammadans from British India; lac; sabai grass; timber; honey; cocoons; etc.	First Class magistrate; powers, excepting those to try heinous offences; a regular judiciary and executive staff; forest department; P. W. D.
1 M. V. Schools	Brass utensils of Kantilo famous; cotton; wheat. Kantilo ■ large mart on the Mahanadi.	A diwan.
1 H. E. School 5 M. E. Schools 5 Girls' Schools Drawing, carpentry, blacksmithy and fitter's works	Tusser fabrics at Olmara, ■ declining manufacture; lac and cocoons by the aborigines; export of sleepers; tobacco; ■ rotation crops; iron ■ among the richest and the most extensive in India; limestone; gold-washings; mica.	A council with chief ■ president for legislation; the diwan as head of revenue department; other departments dealt with by Chief; Judiciary, Police, Engineering, Medicine etc.; P. W. D.; Baripada Municipality—water supply; land revenue administration—Pradhans and Sardars.
1 M. V. School	Lac; cocoons; bamboo.	Trained diwan.
1 M. E. School 1 Ayurvedic institution	Tusser; cotton; salt-petre; ivory work; gundi dye exported to Ganjam; sugar-cane intense.	Chief wields criminal and civil powers.

Account of the

Serial No.	Name of State. 1	Area in sq. miles. 2	Population. 3	Revenue (in rupees). 4	Tribute to the British Govern- ment. 5
	Brought forward	22,530	2,480,939	3,334,956	51,502-13
17.	Nilgiri (Nilgirigarh)	278	66,460	137,000	3,900
18.	Pal Lahara (Pal Lahara)	452	22,351	38,000	267
19.	Patna (Bolangir)	2,399	277,748	229,378	13,000
				"	
20.	Rairakhol (Rampur)	833	26,888	69,744	2,000
21.	Ranpur (Ranpur)	203	46,075	54,000	1,401
22.	Sonepur (Sonepur)	906	169,877	154,054	12,000
23.	Talcher (Talcher)	399	60,432	65,000	1,040
				"	
24.	Tigiria (Tigiriagarh)	46	22,628	10,000	
	Carried over	...	28,046 <i>or</i> 3,173,398 3,796,563 (1911)	4,092,132	86,000 (app.)

Feudatory States.—(Contd.)

Educational facilities.	Industries etc.	Administration, etc.
	7	8
1 M. E. School	Granite quarries; timber.	...
Backward	Tusser; lac; honey; timber.	A <i>diwan</i> .
1 H. E. School	Iron-smelting; cotton cloth; trade with Ganjam.	Full criminal powers, capital sentences requiring confirmation; the <i>diwan</i> , Sessions Judge and chief executive officer; Chief's eldest [redacted] exercises powers of a District Magistrate.
Backward	Iron manufacture considerable; tusser.	Full criminal and civil powers, capital sentences requiring confirmation.
1 M. E. School	...	...
1 H. E. School	Tusser; brass.	Chief as appellate court; <i>diwan</i> , chief executive officer, [redacted] Sessions and District Judges.
1 H. E. School An industrial school teaching leather-work, superior carpentry and smithy	Gold, silver ornamental work.	The Chief is assisted by [redacted] uncle who is [redacted] assistant Sessions Judge.
Backward	Cotton cloth superior	A <i>diwan</i> ; old-fashioned administration.

Account of the

Serial N. ■	Name of State. ■	Area in sq. miles. ■	Population. (1911) ■	Revenue (in rupees). ■	Tribute to the British Govern- ment. ■
	1	2	3	4	5
	Brought forward	28,046	3,796,563	4,092,132	86,000 (app.)
25.	Sarai kala (Saraikala)	449	109,794 (at present)	180,900 (at present)	They may be called upon to render military help.
26.	Kharaswan (Kharaswan)	153	38,852 (at present)	68,500 (at present)	They may be called upon to render military help.
27.	Bastar (Jagdalpur)	13,062	433,310	442,200	20,000
28.	Saranggarh (Saranggath)	540	102,071	109,000	4,500
	Carried over ... ■	42,250	4,480,590	4,892,732	110,500

Feudatory States.—(Contd.)

Educational facilities.	Industries etc.	Administration, etc.
	7	
* 2 M. E. Schools	Tusser and cotton cloth; copper smelting	Important matters of administration effected by consultation; three criminal courts presided by Chief and two sons—all have Second Class magisterial powers.
? 1 M. E. School	Iron; copper, cotton; limestone.	Same criminal and civil powers as for Sarai-kala
↗ 1 M. E. School 1 Girls' School Education free outside Jagdalpur. [Has the services of ■ Inspector of Schools along with the other 13 States of Chattisgarh]	Slate; quartz; iron; limestone; granite; building stone; mica; manganese of good quality; gold-washings; tin; timber; hides; horns etc. exported; Konta is a river-port and entrepôt of trade	Chief assisted by diwan exercising the powers of a District and Sessions Judge, having under him two Subordinate Judges. Tahsildars and Managers have the power of a munsiff and ■ magistrates with Second Class criminal powers; also an Honorary magistrate's court; dispensaries; forest officer efficient.
↗ 21 Schools, of which 2 are for girls. 2 Middle schools.	Slate and limestone resembling the Madras Cadapa slabs; tusser; iron; gold-washings before, not now; mica; good stone.	...

Account of the

Serial No.	Name of State. 1	Area in sq. miles. 2	Population. (1911) 3	Revenue (in rupees.) 4	Tribute to the British Govern- ment. 5
	Brought forward	42,250	4,480,590	4,892,732	110,500
29.	Raigarh (Raigarh)	1,486	218,860	181,400	4,000
30.	Udaipur (Dharamjaigarh)	1,005	64,853	191,417	800
31.	Jashpur (Jashpurnagar)	1,963	174,458	96,687	1,255
	Total	46,704	4,938,761	5,362,236	116,555

N.B.—The names in brackets

Feudatory States.—(Concl.)

Educational facilities.	Industries etc.	Administration, etc.
6	7	8
28 schools, of which 2 for girls. 1 H. E. School	Iron-stone; sandstone; tusser, most important manufacture; goes to Berhampur. Since the Railways, monopolised traffic.	Raigarh Municipality; District Council with three Local Boards; a dispensary.
15 Schools and 8 private schools.	Sandstone; coal; gold; iron; mica; laterite and lime-stone; cotton; <i>chirongi</i> nut.	Political Agent as District and Sessions Judge and magistrate, Commissioner ■ High Court; sanitation in villages by subscriptions and State aid, also in capital town—a splen- did arrangement.
11 Schools	Cotton; lac; gold from Ib river; iron; forest products.	Diwan, ■ in others; the Chief ■ ■ committing magistrate; Political Agent as magistrate and Sessions Judge; in ■ of heinous offences—final ■■■ firmation by Commissioner necessary.

In col. 1 ■ the chief towns of the States.

The possibilities of development of these states are indeed immense. They comprise no insignificant area, and the vast resources that remain yet un-exploited point to a hopeful future. The question of industrial development is an important consideration, and we have dealt in detail with this aspect in a subsequent chapter. As regards the educational needs of the people of these states, secondary ■ well as, technical education best suited to the localities should be extended on a large scale, while arts colleges might with advantage be started at such centres as Baripada etc.

Finally, a word requires to be said on the position of the states in the future Indian polity. The singular fact that there are no less than thirty-one of them in a compact and uniform language area forming geographically as well as ethnologically a complement of the British portion of the Oriya country demands consideration. The states have ■ vital and inseparable connection with the latter, and it should be the aim of all interested in the growth of ■ communal feeling to ensure this intimacy in the future, lest by ■ forced process of isolation the benefits of ■ united life be not lost to a section of the people. And, what sometimes appears to be an attitude of indifference of the Princes to questions, constitutional or other, affecting the British Oriya territories, is easy of explanation when we recall that the amount of real power enjoyed by these Princes even in cases of internal administration of their states is indeed small ;

and, from practices of the British officers in immediate control, they view with uneasiness and with justifiable fear — to the ultimate effect of such procedure on the rights, dignities, and privileges ensured to them by their *sanads*. As suggested in paragraph 305 of the M. C. Report, the existing position needs re-examination, so that these practices may be standardised and all causes for fear or ambiguity removed once for ever. Moreover, the present out-of-date manner of administering an area, which is more than four times that of Belgium, by a single officer who is almost supreme in control of the states, has the danger, oftentimes, of rendering him autocratic in his ways, more especially when there is no corresponding public opinion in the territory. For this reason, the states should be assured — free development within legitimate prescribed limits without unnecessary interference from the agents of the Government. Such a step will tend to destroy that feeling of uneasiness and diffidence which some of the Princes under the present circumstances display in regard to questions affecting British Orissa, and will draw into the field their valued co-operation and rich experience in the solution of the social, intellectual, and also the political problems of the community. We suggest that in view of the great part which the Princes will play in the future polity of Orissa — well — the country in general, an Orissa Council or Conference of Princes should be established by the head of the province for purposes such — of discussion of general

questions affecting their states. This will gradually pave the way for bringing about ■ right harmony between the states and the Government of the adjoining British areas. The question is, indeed, delicate, and great tact should be exercised in the beginning. At present, all the states are being administratively modelled after the neighbouring British districts, and all of them deal with the Provincial Government, so that the closer relation that is sought between them and the Provincial Government of the future Orissa will not be ■ great departure to make. The authors of the M. C. Report in paragraph 310 also suggest that all *sanad* states should have relations with the provincial government. We suggest that, in addition, arrangements should be made as ■ first step, for joint deliberation and discussion, between the Conference of these Princes and the upper Chamber or Committee of the provincial legislature, of questions of common interest, on lines similar to those foreshadowed in the M. C. Report (paragraphs 278 & 311) in regard to the Indian Legislature. As regards the permanent 'Council of Princes' whose formation is suggested in Chapter X of the Report, some of the bigger Orissa chiefs, or their representatives, or a few elected by all the chiefs together, should find ■ place in that assembly. In all these matters, the fact that the Orissa princes form a rare galaxy and wealth should never be lost sight of : they constitute the vestiges of that splendid feudal system of Orissa which kept off for many ■ century the in-

vading aims of the enemy. It is eminently desirable that they should be afforded the fullest and the freest opportunities of self-development in conformity with these traditions so ■ to conduce to the well-being and prosperity of the community ■ a whole of which they form ■ part.

CHAPTER XIII.

A SEPARATE UNIVERSITY FOR ORISSA.

The spread of education in the country during the last two decades naturally diverted men's minds towards the ideals which ought to govern educational progress. The old ideas of affiliating and examining universities gave way to more enlightened ones. There was a natural and healthy reaction against the old systems ; and such notions as residential and teaching universities gradually gained prominence. As a result, the five old universities, of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, and Punjab, that India had were found insufficient, unwieldy and unsuitable to its needs and to its growing aspirations. More universities had, therefore, to be started. The universities of Benares, Mysore, and Patna — also the Indian Women's University and the Gurukula University, which are, in their own way, rare departures in the traditions of universities in the country, while conforming to these ideas, yet foreshadow the kind of university that the future has in store for the people. Distinct signs are noticeable that the future university will be devoted to the needs of an entire provincial area speaking a uniform language, seeking to satisfy all the needs of its national life and to fulfil all its peculiar aspirations which tend to its

cognisance as ■ distinct entity. The many reforms which are gradually effected in university ■ in educational life, point to ■ future with considerable possibilities in this direction. There is ■ growing number of prominent advocates of such and allied reforms in the sphere of education. Even H. E. the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford is ■ strong advocate of instruction being imparted in the vernaculars of India ■ far as possible. His memorable utterances at the Directors' Conference in 1918 on this subject present ■ remarkable specimen. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the ex-Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the greatest Indian educationist alive has been in season and out of ■ giving expression to his strong views on the urgency of spreading higher education through the medium of the Indian languages and the necessity of instituting Degree Examinations in the vernaculars. The Report of the Sadler's Calcutta University Reform Commission, whose publication is awaited with great interest, is also believed to have made recommendations in favour of this proposal. The Gurukula University at Hardwai is assuredly an interesting example of how this principle has already been worked out. The amount of success which the promoters of this organisation have obtained can be gleaned from the fact that even H. E. the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford was convinced after a visit to the university, of the desirability of imparting education through the medium of the vernaculars. The Women's

University started by Prof. Kharve at Poona — Head Quarters with branches all around is yet another indication of the excellence of the idea now sought to be propagated. But "the raising of our languages to their proper place," says Mr. S. V. Khetkar, the well-known student of sociology, "will require the adoption of those languages by the Government, — redistribution in the political divisions of India making language the principle of division. It will also be necessary to grant universities to different provinces, each giving instruction through the vernaculars." The justness of the demand of the Oriyas for a university will clearly be perceived when sought to be understood in relation to these factors ; and the ideals at which the popular movement is directed will now be clearly recognised as decidedly conducive to their legitimate interests.

The Indian University Act of 1904 which is based on the recommendations of the Universities Commission of 1902 and the Resolution of 1913 on the occasion of the Patna University Bill, have not only diverted men's minds as to the tendency of university education — indicated above, but distinctly determined the size of the universities of the future. It was sought to make the control of the affiliated institutions by the university more effective and to make incumbent upon universities the duty of instruction, with a view to remove the existing defect of unwieldiness. Speaking of the defects of the Calcutta University before the Patna University came into

being. Mr. H. Sharp, author of *Progress of Education in India*, 1912-17 says, "when the jurisdiction of a single university (Calcutta) extends over four provinces, 488,000 square miles and nearly 104 millions of people, embraces 58 colleges and 789 recognised high schools and examines in a year 34,538 candidates, the difficulties of the situation become apparent. The burden of responsibility is too great for a single central body, the regulation of admission is made dependent on unwieldy external examinations, the attainments of students in the lower classes, are consequently unequal to the strain of university studies, the standard is lowered, inequality in the equipment of colleges and variation in the examination results become inevitable, and mechanical processes come to be substituted for a living organism."

The remedy to this state of things is succinctly suggested by the following extract from the Resolution of 1913: "The day is probably far distant when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating university. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which the affiliating universities have control by securing in the first instance a separate university for each of the leading provinces in India, and secondly to create new LOCAL teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency." And the Marquess of Crewe in the course of a debate on the subject in the House of Lords on 17-6-12 indicated

the same policy when he said, "It is one of the matters which I have at heart, and which Lord Hardinge also has at heart, that as far as possible—and, of course, matters cannot all be done at once or in a year or two years—there should be a multiplication of residential universities throughout India. I could name other places (*italics ours*) ; but it is not worth while to enter into a discussion of this matter." [See Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Daily Reports, Vol. 12—No. 32, page 115.] Partly in pursuance of this definite policy, and partly in order to meet the developments in the situation, there came into being the Patna University with six colleges, the Benares Hindu University with but one college, and the University of Mysore incorporated by the legislature of that state with only two colleges, and the private institution of the Indian Women's University with one institution. Based on this policy the schemes of the Universities of Dacca, Rangoon, and Nagpur are pending with the Government of India. A demand is being made for establishing local universities at Poona and Ahmedabad. The present demand of the Oriyas for a university is in consonance with the ideal foreshadowed in these movements ; and the Government also admit the justice of the plea and recognise the claims. Mr. Sharp, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal in The Seventh Indian Educational Quinquennial Review, Vol. I, speaking of the ultimate shape of the Patna University says, "As regards the ultimate shape of this

university, the ideal has been foreshadowed that Patna will eventually emerge as ■ truly centralised university through the separation from it of the other four centres when their collegiate institutions are sufficiently strong to exist as independent entities." This taken with the Resolution of 1913 suggesting the institution of 'new local teaching and residential universities' within each of the provinces' lend emphatic support to the demand of the Oriyas for ■ separate university for their peculiar needs. Lord Hardinge, the author of the new province of Behar and Orissa and likewise of the University of Patna in the course of an address at Bankipore on the occasion of his visit to the new province spoke to the effect that the University of Patna was the first university in the province, presumably implying that the creation of new universities in other parts of the province such ■ Orissa was within the bounds of possibility in the near future. And H. H. Sir Charles Bailey, ex-Lieutenant Governor of Behar and Orissa made on the subject an authoritative pronouncement at Puri during one of his tours in Orissa and held out the positive hope of a separate university for Orissa, and went so far as to suggest the institution of more colleges in the town of Cuttack with ■ view to the ultimate formation of ■ university.

The Oriyas have all along been agitating for ■ separate university in the press and in their conferences. They urge that a university be created exercising control over the institutions of all Natural Orissa

including Ganjam, Jeypore, Singhbhum, and the Feudatory States. The Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma in the course of a debate on his resolution recommending the constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis said in the Imperial Legislative Council on 6-2-18 : "There may be a federation or combination for some purposes with the adjoining Native States whose population is of the same race and speak the same language. For example, the cost of a university may be borne by the British province and the Native States. Mysore has a university, practically Canarese, and has solved the problem of the Canarese people until they can find resources for a separate university of their own.....The adjoining Native States of Orissa are another instance in point on the question of cost." When the educational needs of such tracts as Ceylon, Burma, and Assam could be satisfied by the University of Calcutta which has almost no regional affinity with them, it can be easily conceived that Ganjam may be included within the jurisdiction of a university for the people of Orissa, even when served by a university like that of Patna. But the problem of university education of the Oriyas will be better solved by giving a separate province to them and making the province self-contained, and with one university dominated by the vernacular of the people. Though in consonance with the principle of the residential type of universities objections were raised against scattering of colleges affiliated under one university to different centres, it was nevertheless felt

desirable that in consideration of the peculiar condition of the country, universities should comprise institutions situated at more places than one. For instance, even at the time of the inception of the Patna University Act the promoters of the University scheme recognised that in view of the existence of colleges in other parts of the province than Patna, and the local feeling in favour of their retention, the University of Patna should have affiliated under it all the colleges situated at the five different centres. But even this limitation as to the number of centres was opposed by the public — the ground that it would prevent the growth of isolated and weak institutions and would stem the development of higher education in the province generally. And as a result, it was embodied in the Bill that second grade colleges may be opened without restriction as to their location, and that first grade colleges too may be established at other centres with the sanction of the Government of India.

We now propose to discuss the available materials for a separate university for the Oriya people. The following is a list of recognised High Schools in the Oriya tracts which send up pupils either for the Matriculation or the School Final Examination :—

Political Orissa :

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Ravenshaw Collegiate High School,
2. Town Victoria
3. P. M. Academy. | }
Cuttack
(town). |
|---|-------------------------|

- | | | | |
|--|------------------|---|--------------------|
| 4. Mission High School, | | } | Cuttack
(town). |
| 5. Moslem Seminary. | | | |
| 6. Ravenshaw Girls' High School, | | | |
| 7. Kendrapara High School—Cuttack Dist. | | | |
| 8. Jajpur | " | " | |
| 9. Kanika | " | " | |
| 10. Zilla School—Puri (town). | | | |
| 11. Satyabadi High School—Puri Dist. | | | |
| 12. Khurda | " | " | |
| 13. Zilla School—Balasore (town). | | | |
| 14. Mission „ | " | | |
| 15. Lakshmananath High School—Balasore Dist. | | | |
| 16. Bhadrak | " | " | |
| 17. Zilla School | —Sambalpur Dist. | | |
| 18. Baragarh High School | " | | |

Feudatory States of Orissa :

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 19. High School, | Mayurbhanj. |
| 20. „ | Dhenkanal. |
| 21. „ | Talcher. |
| 22. „ | Bamra. |
| 23. „ | Bolangir, Patna State. |
| 24. „ | Sonepur. |
| 25. „ | Kalahandi. |

Oriya Tracts of Ganjam and Jeypore Agency :

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 26. Onslow Institute, Chatrapur, Ganjam. | |
| 27. Khallikote Collegiate High School, Berhampur, | |
| | Ganjam. |
| 28. Board Secondary School, Aska, | „ |

- 29. Board Secondary School, Russelkonda, Ganjam.
- 30. Surangi High School, Ichapore, ..
- 31. Board Secondary School, Tekkali, ..
- 32. Raja's Collegiate High School, Parlakimedi,
Ganjam.
- 33. Board Secondary School, Jeypore, Vizagpatam
Dist.

Central Provinces :

- 34. High School, Raigarh State.

Singhbhum District :

- 35. Zilla School, Chaibasa.

Midnapore District :

- 36. High School, Contai.

Besides these, the following are in the course of formation awaiting recognition :—

- 37. High School, Chakradharpur, Singhbhum Dist.
- 38. High School, Bahadaguda, ..
- 39. High School, Bhuvaneswar, Puri Dist.

But some of the zamindars in Ganjam ■■■■■ endeavouring to raise Middle English Schools under their control to the status of High Schools ; and if, as suggested in the previous chapter, the Feudatory States of Orissa attempt to start High Schools in their own states, the number of High Schools thus raised, including one or two in the Midnapore Oriya tracts, would soon swell the number to about 50.

The number of colleges that can be incorporated in the proposed University ■■■■■ four in number, one

of them a First Grade Government College at Cuttack, the other three being Second Grade Colleges—two of them in the Ganjam District at Berhampur and Paralkimedi, and the third at the town of Cuttack for girls.

Thus, as matters stand at present, 39 High Schools, a First Grade College, and three Second Grade Colleges form ■ nucleus for the proposed University.

This state of things compares most favourably with the number of affiliated institutions under the State University of Mysore, which comprises only three Colleges and ■ handful of High Schools, with that under the Benares University which has but one college, and with that in the promised University at Nagpur which will comprise only three collegiate centres, Nagpur, Jubbulpore, and Amraoti.

In addition to the number of institutions already existing in the Oriya tracts, others also have an immediate prospect of being started.

At Cuttack, ■ great necessity has been felt of late for a Second Grade College on account of the rejection of ■ large number of applicants for admission into the existing Ravenshaw College, and private efforts also in the direction of establishing ■ Second Grade College had been made in the past. What is more, His Honour Sir Charles Bailey definitely encouraged in the course of a speech he delivered in Orissa the idea of starting a Second Grade College in the town of Cuttack. The people of Puri have been for long clamouring for a Second Grade College

in the town, and they had waited in deputation on the Lieutenant Governor of the province for the realisation of this object. It need hardly be mentioned that the necessity for such an institution in the town is indeed great, in view of the fact that there are ■ sufficient number of feeder High Schools in the district. At Balasore also the situation is similar, and it must be patent that ■ college for the needs of the people of that corner of the country is indeed urgent. At Baripada, the seat of government of the Mayurbhanj State, which is the biggest of the Orissa feudatories, the need for a Second Grade College is certainly urgent. When ■ person like the zamindar of Parlakimedi maintains a Second Grade College of ■ high order in his estate and yet another, the ex-zamindar of Khallikote has founded ■ Second Grade College at Berhampur, it is indeed not too much to expect of Mayurbhanj to establish one such college in the state. With a High School at Baripada from which more than 16 candidates on the average come out successful every year in the Matriculation Examination, and with Middle English Schools at Amarda, Sirsa, Bahalda, Kalianjia, and Kuamara, some of which may be raised to High Schools, the institution and the feeding of ■ Second Grade College at Baripada is a sure possibility.

The existing college at Berhampur was proposed to be raised to the status of ■ First Grade College by the Government of Madras who undertook to give effect to the proposal if proper non-official help could

be forthcoming. And as it was insisted that Government should take up the management of the college, the question remains for the present unsolved.

A Chief's college for the sons of the Feudatory Chiefs and the landed aristocracy of Orissa is ■ long-felt want. There is nowhere in India such ■ large number of Chiefs and zamindars tracing their lineage to the ancient Kshatriya families, or occupying permanently settled areas ■ in Ganjam. As matters stand, the sons of these noblemen are obliged to go to distant places such ■ Raipur in the Central Provinces, Newington Institute at Madras, or to Ajmere in the far north with the attendant invariable risk of being denationalised in contact with peoples of greatly divergent aspirations and away from their own people. If a Rajkumar College is established at Cuttack to Puri to which the several Chiefs might be induced to pay liberal donations, among other things much of that peculiar exclusiveness, from the public life of the country, which characterises several of the Chiefs, would be removed.

A Training College for graduate teachers of so many schools and colleges in ■ central place like Cuttack is indeed ■ great necessity. With a Training College it might well be expected that the level of efficiency of the teaching staff will greatly be raised. And if as in the case of all Government and aided High Schools in Ganjam and Jeypore as of the Government High Schools in Orissa, the necessity for the training of the teachers is insisted on in the

case of the aided High Schools also of Orissa, the need for a Training College will easily be perceived. It may be of interest in this connection to mention how the Government of Madras, for instance, has had attached to the St. Joseph's College at Trichinopoly L. T. Classes, and thus helps to maintain a separate Faculty of Teaching. Some such arrangements at all events can surely be made in Orissa.

There were some years back Law Classes attached to the present Ravenshaw College ; and for some unknown reason they have been abolished ; and in spite of repeated demands by the people for the provision of instructions in Law in the town of Cuttack, the classes have not been restored. At a time when the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack is producing an increasingly large number of graduates every year, the need for reinstituting the Law Classes requires no explanation. For want of a suitable provision in their own province, Oriya students are, therefore, obliged to go to distant places like Madras, Bankipore or Calcutta. The number of such students is by no means small ; for, even if we leave out the several students at Madras and Bankipore, those studying at Calcutta alone form important enough to monopolise a whole Mess started by the Government of Behar and Orissa, besides many others who live outside it for want of accommodation in the Mess. The Government of Behar and Orissa has recently sanctioned ten Law scholarships tenable for Oriya students.

The M.A. classes which lay attached to the Ravenshaw College till only ■ few years ago have been dis-established, and the state of things has not been remedied in spite of the fact that Cuttack turns out ■ larger number of graduates every year. The need for them will easily be perceived when we take into consideration the fact that even in distant Calcutta where life is much costlier ■ large number of Oriya students are nevertheless found taking up the Post Graduate Courses in Arts and Sciences. Again, many studying Law would study for the M.A. Degree Examination in addition. If the classes were at Cuttack, many of those who discontinue their collegiate studies after completion of the B.A. course would also find an opportunity to improve their educational qualification.

These facts fully justify the institution of Law as well as what are called Post Graduate Classes in Orissa itself. When such ■ thing becomes possible much could be done in the direction of original research also.

The present Sanskrit College at Puri which im-parts instruction in the several Oriental Studies might in the future be rendered suitable for sending up students for University Examinations of Oriental Studies. In the Punjab University such a provision has already been made while in so small a University ■ in the Benares Hindu University ample provisions exist. Even in the Madras University candidates appear for Oriental Titles Examinations. It is thus

desirable that in Orissa the home of Sanskrit culture for many centuries past such a Faculty should be established, though the present Board of Sanskrit studies might continue to administer the management of institutions affiliated under this head.

The scheme above outlined is pre-eminently feasible. Demands have not been urged for the organisation of faculties for either Engineering or Medicine. The only five faculties which have been included are those of Arts, Science, Teaching, Law, and Oriental Studies, including precisely the four Faculties with which the Patna University with comparatively less materials in certain respects started its career, with the addition of the Faculty of Oriental studies on which account, however, there can possibly be no special difficulty. The Government ought not in such matters maintain in regard to the need of the Oriyas indifference of the kind which has been the lot of the community in the past. For instance, the apathetic treatment meted out by the Government to the people can be illustrated by the comparative share of the attention which the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack attracted despite its right to better recognition of its claims. Though the students in the Ravenshaw College in 1914 numbered 440 and that of Patna College 366 and the number increased to 488 in the former while that of Patna fell to 360 in 1915, the Government paid less attention to the equipment of the Ravenshaw College than to the College at Patna. And in 1914 while two professors in the

cadre of Indian Educational Service were sanctioned for the Patna College, only one was appointed for the Ravenshaw College. In a large scheme prepared for the equipment of these two Colleges, soon after the creation of the new province, provision for six posts in the Provincial Educational Service and eight in the Subordinate Educational Service was made for Patna, while for Cuttack only four posts under each corresponding head were sanctioned. When in the middle of 1914 the need for some temporary professorships was felt, twelve were sanctioned for Patna but only five for Cuttack. This kind of treatment at the hands of a professedly paternal Government despite the legitimate claims of the community to better recognition is decidedly against its highest interests.

When the proposed University gradually develops, other faculties can be started which might conform to the peculiar genius of the people. The claims of Agriculture to be established — a faculty of the proposed University, as at present in the University of Bombay, are foremost. Orissa is one of the most fertile provinces in the whole country, and most of the civil population is more intensely devoted to agricultural pursuits than perhaps in any other province of India—even at the utter loss to the country of the value of skilled crafts like weaving. On grounds of better business leading to better living, educational efficiency, and as a handmaid to the study of physical and social sciences, the importance of agriculture

cannot be overestimated. Eminent educationists recognise this principle. Prof. Patrick Geddes, for instance, who is the originator of the idea of the Indore University urges the necessity of giving the most central place to agricultural studies in the curricula of Indian universities [see Report on the proposed University for Central India at Indore]. The special genius of the people in matters such as Architecture and Shipbuilding which are glorious facts of the history of Orissa may be given proper incentive to development in the future schemes of the University, when it comes under indigenous influence and control. A school of Architecture, on the model of the Bombay School of Arts, where Architecture forms a part of the studies, might be established. All such steps will finally help to maintain the cultural integrity of the people whose interests the proposed University would serve.

IDEALS OF UNIVERSITIES:—Men's minds are changing — regards the ideals which are to govern the progress of education in the country. Several experiments in the sphere of education are continually being made. The old notions regarding examinations and memory tests which were the be-all and the end-all of education are persistently proposed to be removed from the universities. And again, men like Rabindranath Tagore and other Indian thinkers have been advocating the use of the prominent vernacular languages of the country as media of education. If such — reform is progressively

effected the need for universities administering to the needs of people speaking the same language may be more fully realised. The Open Air system of which there is such a remarkable example in Orissa itself points the way in which educational reform will tend. The study of Fine Arts which is insisted upon by Rabindranath in the universities is 'yet another new ideal which will tend to furnish a touch of humanism to an otherwise purely scholastic life. As has already been seen, in Bombay, provision has already been made for the study of architecture ; and, in Orissa, which is a land so well known for its glories in architecture, in consideration of the great field which it will offer to the future research scholar, the desirability of instituting architectural studies is greater. And above all, it should be remembered that the life-spirit of a true university must be the atmosphere of active enquiry and discussion.

EXPENDITURE :—Finally, as regards the cost of the University for Orissa, it will be met in the usual manner in which when other universities are founded the cost is met. In the case of the University of Patna, the Government of India provided it not only with the capital cost but the recurring cost as well. And large grants have been allocated for the new universities regarding which proposals are pending, such as those for Dacca, Rangoon, and Nagpur. The case of the University for Orissa would be met in a similar manner. The system of fees collected from candidates examined

by the universities which produced formerly the main source of income might continue to be the permanent source of income of the proposed university ■ well. Other sources of income ■ also available. In 1905 the Government of India gave grants to the Indian Universities for better carrying out of the administrative functions laid upon them by the Act of 1904. In 1912 again they gave grants, both recurring and non-recurring, to facilitate higher teaching and research. Besides, special Imperial grants are forthcoming for the institution of special chairs and studies. Will not such cases hold good in Orissa ■ well ; and will not private patronage also be forthcoming ? Is it under such conditions then impossible to institute a University for Orissa ?

CHAPTER XIV.

A HIGH COURT FOR ORISSA : HOW FAR NECESSARY.

It has been universally recognised that every province in the country should as far as possible be self-contained. In view of the Provincial Autonomy, a substantial measure of which is under contemplation to be conferred on the country, this need for creating self-contained units in every respect is a paramount necessity. An independent Judiciary in some form or another is therefore indispensable for the needs of every province. There are High Courts in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Patna, and Lahore constituted by their *Letters Patent* in accordance with the provisions of the Indian High Courts Act of 1861. This Act empowers Her Majesty in Council to erect and establish High Courts of Judicature by *Letters Patent*, provides for possibilities of modification in these *Letters Patent* and for the alteration of the jurisdiction of the High Courts. This Charter Act was further enlarged and modified in the Government of India Act 1915. In provinces such as Burma we have what are known as Chief Courts consisting of three or more judges. In the Central Provinces, Sind, and other tracts there are Courts of Judicial Commission assisted in each by one or two colleagues. Unlike the Chartered High Courts created by *Letters*

Patent, these derive their power not from the Parliament of the United Kingdom but from the Government of India. Appeals against the decisions of any of these three kinds of Judiciary lie only with His Majesty in Council. We see therefore, that every provincial unit has provision for a separate and independent Judiciary. Following this plan, on the creation of the new province of Behar and Orissa it was deemed imperative by the Government in 1916 to give a High Court to the province in order to make it self-contained.

One of the greatest privileges which the British connection has conferred on the people of India is the blessing which the establishment of High Courts gives to them. In High Courts more than in any other, there is a large amount of freedom exercised by the Judiciary from the control of the Executive authority. An earnest attempt is almost always made to render justice shorn of its bearings on side issues and relative merits. In most cases justice more or less of an absolute character is sought to be administered. This is the great fact among a few others which has so pinned the faith of Indians in British justice. During the last decade when Lord Curzon effected the Partition of Bengal, the people of East Bengal protested against the measure for the very important reason among others that the privileges of a High Court which they were enjoying through the High Court at Calcutta were sought to be curtailed. Even though assurances were given that the jurisdic-

tion of the Calcutta High Court would continue ■ before over Eastern Bengal, the people feared that the state of things thus proposed would not necessarily be binding on future governments.

The Oriya people in ■ meeting held at Cuttack on 22-4-1903 to give expression to their view on the subject of the then proposed territorial distribution ■ affecting the community, passed ■ resolution urging that the united Orissa which was contemplated should be placed under the judicial supervision of the Honourable High Court at Calcutta, thus making it clear that the community was not prepared to forego the privileges of ■ High Court which it was till then enjoying. The province of Behar and Orissa when it was newly created was granted ■ High Court; for, the Government of India could not withhold or curtail the right of a people who were enjoying the blessings of ■ High Court till then. The people of Orissa, who till the creation of the Patna High Court were in the enjoyment of the privileges of a High Court, when they pointed out that the great distance, which separated Orissa from Patna, and the want of direct communication thereto, would involve the litigant public in considerable inconvenience denying them in effect the rights of a High Court, the Government made arrangements for seasonal sittings or circuit Courts of the Patna Judiciary at Cuttack——an arrangement almost the first of its kind in the history of Indian Judicial administration, barring perhaps the somewhat similar but crude arrangements that were

once made in the country about the time of Lord Cornwallis. By this measure, the Government have in a way admitted the direct benefits which accrue to the people from the creation of High Court facilities ; for, the arrangement of a circuit Court is somewhat of a make-shift for a High Court.

Of the three kinds of Judicial Courts, it has to be ascertained what type of Court would suit the needs of a united Orissa, in consideration of its area, population, and the form of administration which is suggested for it. Judicial Commissioner's Courts obtain in Central Provinces, Assam, Oude, the North-West Frontier Province, and Sindh.

	Area.	Population	Form of adminis- tration.
1. Central Provinces and Berar	100,345	13,916,308	Chief Commis- sionership,
2. Assam	52,959	6,713,635	Do.
3. Oude	23,966	12,558,004	Commissionership under U. P.
4. N. W. Frontier Province	16,466	2,196,933	Chief Commis- sionership.
5. Sindh	47,066	3,513,435	Commissionership under Bombay.

Now, United Orissa with an area of 89,029 sq. miles and a large population of 15,250,158 [See Chap. IX] when compared with the administrations detailed above assuredly deserves a court of a higher status. And it will be seen that Judicial Commissioner's Courts exist only in provinces usually under

the executive authority of ■ Chief Commissionership. But ■ indicated in Chap. X what Orissa claims is ■ lieutenant-governorship for the united country. Thus it will be apparent that this Judicial Commissionership will not suit the needs of the Oriya people. What is more, the evils inherent in the system of Judicial Commissionerships are so patent that no people would much covet the distinction of possessing such counts as these. The Judicial Commissioners of the several grades are appointed by the local governments concerned, a fact which reduces the comparatively independent status of the judges. Though the agency is cheaper, it cannot be gainsaid that it is decidedly inferior, and frequently involves, ■ is admitted by several administrators themselves, the corruption of the subordinate judiciary which is the direct result of the lack of independent control from above. And so long as the Executive and Judicial functions are permitted to be administered by the same person, the system of Judicial Commissioners is fraught with much evil, especially ■ it itself enjoys ■ limited amount of real freedom.

The question of the provision of a separate High Court for united Orissa has next to be considered. The Oriyas alike of Behar and Orissa, Madras, and Bengal have been till now enjoying the advantages of one or other High Court. Except the few Oriya tracts of the Central Provinces which are under the control of a Judicial Commissioner, the Oriya people are under the High Courts either of Calcutta, Patna

or Madras. This is one formidable argument for which the Oriya people under ■ newer dispensation should not be deprived of the privilege of ■ High Court established by *Letters Patent*. And, it should be remembered that this was a great argument in favour of ■ High Court at the time when one was proposed to be established at Patna. But since in view of the present resources and the material condition of the people a separate High Court cannot be established to serve the sole needs of the people of Orissa, it is suggested that either the present High Court at Calcutta or that at Patna should exercise jurisdiction over the litigation of the proposed united Orissa. Sir Murray Hammick, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Madras in his letter to the Government of India, dated 20th June 1904 replying to Mr. Risley's letter on the question of the then contemplated transfer of Madras Oriya areas to Bengal writes : "The Government understand from the Honourable Sir Denzil Ibbetson's reply to ■ question put by the Honourable Mr. Cable at the meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council held on 5th February that it is not proposed to alter the limits of the jurisdiction of the High Court at Calcutta. It is presumed therefore that the proposal now under consideration does not involve the curtailment of the jurisdiction of Madras.....The Madras High Court, if its jurisdiction is to remain undisturbed, would have administrative relation with two local governments, a situation which would prove highly inconvenient

and embarrassing." The remark of the Government of India which is unwarrantedly alluded to in this context by Mr. Hammick unmistakably referred to the case of Eastern Bengal whose people emphatically desired the continuance of the jurisdiction over them of the Calcutta High Court, and not to the case of other areas such as the Oriya tracts of Madras proposed for redistribution. It was only by a clever stretch of logic that such an argument was advanced to drop the proposal of the administrative union of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency with Orissa. How the interpretation of Mr. Hammick was far from accurate was immediately demonstrated by the amalgamation with Orissa of Sambalpur, which materially affected the jurisdiction of the High Court at Calcutta. The arguments which one might advance in regard to the unwieldy nature of the Calcutta High Court and its alleged consequent incapacity to exercise jurisdiction over additional areas do now no longer hold good. Since the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, the large areas of Behar and Chota Nagpur have been severed from its jurisdiction and it can therefore well exercise control over the litigation and judicial machinery in Orissa albeit united. And the Patna High Court, it is often complained, does not receive sufficient work to do. For this reason this High Court in the alternative can very well take up the task of supervision of the subordinate Judiciary of Orissa and otherwise administer to the interests of the people.

A word need here be said in regard to the prevailing system of Circuit Courts in Orissa. Two Judges of the Patna High Court hold sessions at Cuttack at least four times in ■ year, each session extending over at least a fortnight. This arrangement certainly aims to bring justice within easy reach of the people. But in urgent criminal matters where bail is required people cannot wait for the coming of the Judges, and they generally prefer to go to Patna even undergoing considerable expense on that account. In this respect, the litigant public would perhaps much prefer Calcutta to Patna on account of the latter's distance. Further since only two Judges come to Orissa for disposal of the cases, the best judicial experience of the High Court as ■ whole is not available to the people. To obviate these disadvantages, the people would prefer to retain permanently a branch of the High Court at Cuttack whose personnel may from time to time be altered, thus infusing fresh blood into it—always, with the general supervision of the subordinate judiciary by the central High Court. The difficulty that there may not be enough cases to feed these Judges can be overcome when the outlying Oriya tracts are joined with Orissa and share the benefits of the system in common with her.

This state of things does not, however, suggest a remedy for making the province self-contained. If it be the aim to make the Judiciary of the future province of Orissa comparatively autonomous within

itself, it might be found necessary to establish what is known as ■ Chief Court in the province. There is a Chief Court in Burma, and the Chief Court in the Punjab has recently been raised to the status of ■ High Court. These provinces are each under ■ lieutenant-governor, precisely the kind of executive head now claimed for the future province of Orissa, though the designation of such an executive head may be different in future. Though the Judges of the Chief Court are appointed by the local government, they occupy a status somewhat inferior to that of High Court Judges. Nevertheless the dignity and status attaching to their position are superior to those of Judicial Commissioners. This system of Courts is less expensive than ■ High Court and has got the main advantages of ■ High Court. The jurisdiction of this proposed Chief Court in the future province of Orissa would extend over no less than eight districts entire and portions of ■ few more, thus furnishing sufficient field for development and for exercise of control. When conditions change and a healthy provincial patriotism comes into being, and when a change comes over the nature of the Indian administration, the Chief Court may in time develop into a High Court, conferring on the people, whose interests it shall serve, all the peculiar benefits that accrue from an independent Judiciary.

CHAPTER XV.

THE STANDING ECONOMIC EVILS.

India in general and, more emphatically, Orissa are agricultural. And in all agricultural countries, famine is the most likely evil containing within it potentialities of great disaster. For the reason that the prominent feature about the economic position of Orissa is famine, it is proposed to discuss in the course of the present chapter the subject of the standing economic evil of the people. Orissa falls an easy prey to this great evil, because the lack of industrial pursuits brings a dead level of uniformity in the occupations. The peculiar position of Orissa makes it so liable to frequent famines, not only because of drought which is ■ general possibility in the other Indian provinces, but also because of the special evil of inundation to which it is most often subjected.

Agriculture in Orissa, particularly the rice crop which furnishes the staple food of the people depends upon the south-west monsoon which extends from the month of June to that of October. And when ■ early cession of the monsoon takes place prior to or about the beginning of September, complete drought is the result. In the plain tract of Orissa which is to ■ great extent deltaic, the difference of level between

the high and the low-lying lands is so slight that in the event of any scarcity of rainfall, all the parts are equally affected. Though this remark does not apply to the upland tracts of Natural Orissa such as Sambalpur, Ganjam, or the Gajjats, any failure of the monsoon in the latter inevitably brings with it the attendant result of famine, though, of course, parts irrigated by reservoirs remain comparatively immune from its effects. The next great cause of famine in Orissa is inundation. The Mahanadi, the Brahmani, and the Baitarani with their tributaries bring down the great volume of water which comes down after heavy rains to the plains from the tablelands of Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces ; and their high floods sweep across the rice fields and do great damage to the standing crop, because they generally occur during the months of July, August, and September, precisely the months when the rice is in the first vigour of its growth, or is in flower, or nearing maturity.' When the floods occur during the earlier part of the monsoon period and when their height and duration are not considerable, they render possible a process of resowing thus diminishing the extent of the damage that might otherwise incur to the cultivator. But when they occur during the latter part of the monsoon period, the most dangerous results ensue. It sometimes so happens that in the same year Orissa is visited by both flood and drought thus entailing a double calamity to the people.

As a result of either drought, or flood, or

both, the people of Orissa have during the period of their history suffered some very serious famines ever experienced by a people. Famines are said to have occurred in Orissa in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the sixteenth centuries under the Oriya monarchy. During the Mahratta rule, famines have occurred in 1770, 1774, 1780, 1792, and 1803 ; and under the British in 1806, 1808, 1809, 1817, 1828, 1836, 1837, 1842, 1865, and 1896. Many of these, however, cannot be regarded as famines but as years of bad crops and scarcity, especially those that seem to have occurred during the period of early British occupation of Orissa. Sarcity was intensified during these years of famine by devastation and misgovernment of the rulers. This was a critical period for Orissa. The nominal Mussalman rule had just then been superseded by a marauding rule of the Mahrattas, and the reality of the native Oriya rule was fast disappearing when Orissa became the battlefield for the contending forces of the Mahrattas and the advancing British. But the famine of 1865-66 was the greatest calamity of the century. The complete failure of the rains in 1865 followed by great floods in the rivers during 1866, which completely drowned the harvests of the low lands, tended to the prolongation of famine conditions to the end of 1867. The country was then practically isolated from the rest of India. The Bengal Board of Revenue was misled by defective estimates of the population requiring food and by fictitious price lists. "It (the famine) had to be dealt

with by a body of officials necessarily ignorant of the signs of its approach, unprepared to accept it, and inexperienced in the administration of relief measures When the harvest failed, the gravity of the occasion was not perceived, and no special enquiries were instituted." [O'Malley's Cuttack District Gazetteer.] Only when towards the end of May 1866 the Commissioner of the division returning from a tour in the Tributary States found the troops and the Government establishments on the point of starvation that the Government realised the seriousness of the situation. The mortality was immense : it was officially estimated that at least a million people or one-third of the population of the plains, and according to popular estimates no less than 18 lakhs died in Orissa alone. This mortality deeply stirred the public conscience ; and Sir George Campbell's Commission, which followed, effectually called attention to the responsibilities of Government in times of famine. "The relief arrangements of the first year in Orissa were much criticised by Sir George Campbell's Commission of enquiry, particularly in regard to the poor houses ; but failure was mainly due to the actual dearth of food, which the then imperfect means of information failed to detect until too late, and the then means of communication failed to relieve when detected." [See Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. III, p. 487.]. And this failure of the Government to cope with the situation was afterwards made a ground by Sir Stafford Northcote, the then

Secretary of State for India to propose in 1868 for the separation of Orissa from Bengal.

This terrible administrative failure may best be ascribed to that peculiar tendency of the official mind which makes light of real distress of the people for fear of increasing difficulties and complicating the situation. This phenomenon is noticeable even in more recent times. In this connection, it would be of interest what a well-known English publicist touring in Orissa in 1908 says regarding the situation. In his "New Spirit in India," Mr. H. W. Nevinson says: "'Death from starvation—nil'! Nothing could well be more explicit, yet even that simple assertion began to look as elusive as other economics when I went out into the villages and saw the bony corpses and was told the official cause of death is always some innocent and unavoidable sickness like cholera or 'bowel complaint', and that the official mind has a rooted objection to starvation.....Whatever blame lay with the authorities seemed to arise from the usual official tendency to make light of distress for fear of increasing difficulties....."

To resume. The devastation which the floods bring in their train are so intense that Dr. Hunter in his 'Orissa', Vol. I, says: "I have said that the history of Orissa is the narrative of a province at the mercy of a great river, and a short account of the north-eastern shores of Chilka will make known to European readers the terrible meaning of these words." It remains now to see what steps were

taken to relieve the people of such keen distress in different periods of their history.

The protective measures initially adopted to save people from the effects of inundation have generally been the construction of embankments. The three great rivers of the Mahanadi, the Brahmani, and the Baitarani which collect the drainage of over 65,000 square miles rise with great rapidity and dash down with their concentrated floods on the small deltaic area of 3,600 square miles. In the rainy season, therefore, the delta is always liable to devastation : in the hot weather, on the other hand, the rivers become nearly dried up. This peculiarity of the rivers has to be overcome. The problem that presents itself is to prevent effectively the crops from being swept over by the floods and to employ the water for purposes of irrigation as well as navigation. The Hindu monarchs who ruled Orissa in the past took special steps to save the people from the ravages of the inundations by constructing embankments, while the Mahrattas provided for special remissions to the zamindars who undertook to maintain embankments. The British rulers of the country did not render the surviving embankments efficient, or — serviceable — they might have been, — it was found necessary, in view of the gradual silting up of the river beds, to construct comparatively high embankments which would necessitate the expenditure of large sums for their maintenance. As ■ result of this, Government ■ maintains a smaller range

of embankments. Whereas in 1866 there were 510 miles of Government embankments and 248 miles of zamindari embankments in the District of Cuttack alone, after 1897 those under the latter group were entirely neglected and only 215 miles of the river embankments continued to be maintained. The canals, however, which were of British creation, contain 265 miles of embankments along their banks. Unlike the embankments whose maintenance ■■■ a special feature of Pre-British rulers of Orissa, a system of canals was inaugurated by the British conquerors. General Sir Arthur Cotton who was deputed to Orissa in 1858 to report on the control of the floods of the Mahanadi suggested the construction of canals designed not only for purposes of irrigation and navigation, but also ■■■■■ of protection from floods by means of anicuts and canals constructed at the heads of rivers where the water branches off, ■■■ to regulate the discharge of water entering the several branches according to their relative capacities. Captain J. C. Harris, quoted by Hunter, in his last report also suggests : "And so the Dalatala Cutting Project, which has produced so much stir, dies out? Nothing further, then, can be done for Orissa after all? She must continue to be inundated as heretofore!....." And Dr. Hunter also adds : "The Dalatala Cutting, if practicable, would for ever solve the question of floods in Orissa."

The official charge against the people that they do not take to navigation though a fine system of

navigable canals has been provided, does not appear to be sound, since the railway facilities which are now obtaining in the province diminished the importance of river and canal trade. Besides the tollage rates in connection with them were comparatively high. The anticipated success of the system of canals for purposes of irrigation, according to the official view, was not also attained, as the people do not show any anxiety to have the permanent privilege of artificial irrigation even though it was considered ■ of great value against drought. The facts, however, are that much of the land is too low to take irrigation or too high to be irrigated except by lifts—and lift-irrigation is difficult and does not pay. The water rates also were first very prohibitive. What is most important, the normal rainfall in Orissa being 60 inches per annum, it is ample, and the value of canal irrigation is exceptionally dependent on the character of the season. The reason, in the eyes of the cultivator, is that the chief value of water lies not in any improvement it may render possible in the outturn of an ordinary year but in the protection it affords in a year of drought. Thus the acreage of such irrigated area rises or falls alternately with years of drought or with years when there is abundant rainfall. But the loss during years of drought is more than counterbalanced, most especially in recent years, by the rate which would have to be paid by the people when a lease is taken for a term of years. And if lower rates are allowed of

for permanent leases one may feel sure that there will be a natural willingness on the part of the people to benefit on ■ more extensive scale by artificial irrigation ; and the range of irrigated area will gradually increase, with the result that the income from their assessment will be substantially large.

As ■ means of protection from floods the embankments present peculiar difficulties. As has been already pointed out, the Hindu monarchs, unable to devise any other methods for protecting the people from floods continually kept enlarging the extent of the embankments of the rivers regardless of the unremunerative nature of such procedure, provided they were convinced that the people were protected thereby. The British Government as a second method of preventing the possible ravages of floods on the lives and the property of the people opened out canals, with their own embankments, from the rivers. But the idea of making the canals productive or remunerative led them to the construction of anicuts in order to control the flow of water down the canals for irrigation purposes. But, as is inevitable in the case of anicuts, the upper courses of the rivers gradually became silted up, and the beds became raised, thus rendering it necessary to raise embankments. But the Government ■ we said before shrank from the duty of making the embankments higher and stronger. However, ■ ■ third effective measure against the evil, the construction of 'embanked escape channels' along the natural depressions in the deltas of the

rivers was adopted to a limited extent. But the great fact that the construction of river embankments was considered ■ duty by the Hindu kings towards the people and not as a source of income seems to have been lost sight of by the British rulers ; and the complaint that the canal system in Orissa is not remunerative is, in consequence, unjustified, ■ the charge on the construction of embankments which is included in such ■ computation ought strictly to be regarded ■ being intended mainly for the protection of the people and hence necessarily not remunerative in the sense in which it is sought to be explained. For a final solution of the problem, it is absolutely necessary, that more canals should be opened out of the rivers ; the existing embankments should be repaired and maintained with the addition of other embankments, if necessary ; and that what are called 'embanked escape channels', regardless of benefits by way of irrigation, should be cut out on ■ more extensive scale. But above all, ■ definite policy should govern in such matters, and special attention should be paid—all which require that a separate administration should be granted to fulfil the needs of the entire community. When such a state of things comes into being, one may make bold to assert that if the salutary measures which have been suggested be adopted, irrigation will progress on an enlarged scale and the administration of even the canal embankments will ultimately be rendered self-sufficing.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDUSTRIES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

Orissa is full of mineral resources, some of which are already in the process of exploitation ; others though discovered have not yet been dealt with on ■ efficient scale ; while still others have escaped notice till now. The future of Orissa with such potentialities confined within itself will on this account be far from gloomy, if really popular methods of administration are resorted to. As the prime causes for the increase of wealth in the country these will afford considerable prosperity to the individual and to the community in placing them on the road to progress and civilisation. The notion that sometimes prevails that Orissa has not got resources for ■ industrial regeneration is not borne by facts, ■ the efforts, will demonstrate, of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., whose field of action is confined merely to the Oriya country. Orissa at present provides from a factory at Aska in Ganjam sugar of ■ very superior kind to the provinces, and the Tannery and Jewel Factory at Cuttack also afford striking testimony of the success of industrial enterprise in future ■ also to the quality of the article produced and the general efficiency of the skilled labourer.

Let us now consider the various industrial possibilities of the Oriya country :

COAL.—Coal is found in Angul, Sambalpur, and in the Feudatory States of Gangpur, Athmallik, Talcher, Dhenkanal, Rairakhol, Kalahandi and other tracts. In Talcher the largest coal fields exist, while in Gangpur ■ variety of coal superior to that got elsewhere is obtained. It is reported that the coal in the other parts is not only inferior to but less profitable and useful than that of the Bengal coalfields. But ■ geological survey on a comprehensive scale, we feel sure, is bound to yield favourable results in this direction. It is probable that between Keonjher and Mourbhanj States there are coal fields, but they have not yet been exploited.

IRON.—There is plenty of iron ore in Orissa. In the Cuttack District, at Jobra, there are Government works, and they turn out iron work required for lochs, canals, etc. In the Angul District, iron is got towards Chhindipada and is worked by the Aborigines. In Sambalpur also, it is got from ores in the Boiasambar, Kolabira, Laira, Paharsigria, and Rampur zamindaries, and it is said that the quality is very good. It is here worked by Lohars. The largest mines are, however, found in the State of Mourbhanj and in Singhbhum. The Kolhan tract abounds in iron mines. There are, it seems, four mines in the Dhalbhum estate. The Tata Iron and Steel Co., who are working at Sakchi derive immense profit from their concern. In addition to the Tata Co., there is

the Bengal Iron and Steel Co. working in Singhbhum ; and Kalimati, or the modern Tatanagar is ■ well-known place connecting the mines of Singhbhum and those at Gorumahishani in the Bamanghati Sub-division in Mourbhanj. The Orissa Feudatory States contain large supplies of iron ore : Talcher, Mourbhanj, Athmallik, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur, Rairakhol, Dhenkanal, and possibly several others conceal within themselves large amounts of iron. The Talcher iron is got from the beds of the river Damodar. The enormous quantity of iron ore already referred to in Gorumahishani in Mourbhanj exploited by Tata and Sons who own a large area in the State, are "possibly among the richest and the most extensive in India." The Bamanghati Sub-division in Mourbhanj provides abundant supplies for several furnaces on ■ modern scale. In Athmallik iron ore throughout of excellent quality is got, ■ also in Rairakhol where considerable manufacture also is made. In Bamra and Gangpur, it is in abundance, and in Gangpur at Panposh there ■ lime-stone quarries by the side of these mines.

Indeed, the iron that can be got is immense. Sir Dorab Tata of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. obviously relying on the iron at his command at Sakchi and Gorumahishani recently declared that he could provide the needs of the whole country and the Government of India in the matter of iron manufacture from the resources he could command. The impetus which the war has given for iron manufacture will go ■ long way to place on a substantial

footing this great industry. The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission published in 1918 also fore-shadows unlimited possibilities in this direction.

LIME-STONE.—Closely allied to the manufacture of iron is the lime-stone industry which forms a natural accompaniment to the iron industry.

Lime-stone is got in Ganjam, Angul, Sambalpur and in the States of Gangpur, Dhenkanal, Mourbhanj and in several other places where quarries exist. It is found in the lower Vindhya rock from Padampur southwards, and the Mahanadi near Padampur contains large masses of marble-like lime-stone. In Sambalpur it is found in the Bargarh Tahsil, in Singhbhum near Chaibasa, and is worked by European firms. The iron ~~mine~~ at Panposh in Gangpur adjoin limestone quarries owned by Tata Iron and Steel Co., while in Mourbhanj as well they adjoin the iron area.

This industry will greatly improve as time goes on and will help the iron industry to a considerable extent.

COPPER.—Copper is found in very large quantities in Singhbhum, and they are the most extensive copper deposits yet known in India. They extend from the Kera Estate to the border of Midnapore in Bengal. Copper is also found in Dhalbhum, Saraikala, and also to a limited extent in Kharaswan ; and the rajas of the former two used formerly to smelt copper. In Kharaswan a copper mine is being worked. The first attempt made to work in a scientific method in Singhbhum was undertaken by Europeans, and was

too expensive. The Hindusthan Copper Co., which also worked here proved a failure, because the processes employed were too expensive. The Indian Industrial Report (1916-18) says in regard to Singhbhum : "The copper ores of Singhbhum, a district in Chota Nagpur, have ■ yet scarcely been exploited, although a mine has been developed, and smelting works have been erected and have already started operations."

Refined copper is not yet manufactured in India. When conditions become favourable and when less costly methods of smelting are adopted, copper is bound to be a useful industry in Orissa.

MANGANESE.—There ■■■ manganese quarries in the Kolhan estate in Singhbhum, which ■■■ worked by Europeans. They are also found near Chaibasa, the chief town of the district. In the Gangpur Feudatory State also there are some quarries.

Manganese is at present exported from the Indian quarries in a raw state to other countries ; and there are no facilities for any manufactures.

MICA.—Mica is chiefly found in Angul, Sambalpur, Singhbhum, and in the State of Mourbhanj. It is worked only in Sambalpur at present, while in the Kandhmals of Angul and Dhalbhum in Singhbhum, it is not worked, though in Dhalbhum it was once being worked and is now given up for some reason or another. Along the Damodar river, the geology shows, there are mica mines.

This might also prove ■ useful industry in future.

DIAMONDS.—Diamond mining was formerly carried

on in Sambalpur by a class of people called Jhoras who were specially patronised by the Raja of Sambalpur. An island in the Mahanadi at this place is called after this, the Hirakud. Under British administrators a lease was given of the tracts to a capitalist company, and after the expiry of the lease, a capitalist of Kampti undertook diamond-mining in these tracts.

SALT.—The manufacture of salt enjoyed considerable pre-eminence during the time of the local rajas. During the second half of the last century it suffered greatly from neglect of the British administrators. The salt produced in Orissa under the Bengal administration and the salt manufactured in Ganjam under the supervision of the Madras Government have separate histories of their own. There were three difficulties — regards Orissa—(1) Duties on manufacture, which pressed too heavily and swamped it off in the face of competition, (2) methods unsuitable to the areas in which they were manufactured, and (3) smuggling. In Orissa, therefore, salt manufacture became extinct in 1898, though in Ganjam it continues in many factories, and especially at Naupada, to be manufactured under the *karkatch* variety, i.e., where evaporation by the sun is resorted to and not boiling — in the case of the *ponga* variety. The attention of the Behar and Orissa Government seems to have been drawn, to the artificial extinction of the industry in Orissa, by a resolution by the Hon'ble Gopabandhu Das in March 1918, and they are at present engaged in devising measures for its revival.

There is no doubt whatever that salt formed a valuable industry in the past. In the District of Cuttack alone, the industry which was in the opinion of Mr. Sterling, once Commissioner of Orissa, "the finest industry in India" used to produce salt worth 18 lakhs of rupees. In Puri, it formed the chief industry in Parikud, towards its north, while in Balasore also it was a very important industry.

If the industry is worked on an efficient scale, processes might readily be found to manufacture caustic soda, saltpeter, and other substances, and also to generate by electrical processes chlorine, which latter might be made the basis of a bleaching industry.

FISHERIES.—Fisherries is an important industry in Orissa. They are at present under the Fisheries Department of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The Chilka Lake which contains plentiful fish is a source of a valuable industry ; and in Puri where deep sea-fishing is practised, it constitutes an important vocation of the *Nuliyas* who catch the fish. It might be of interest to recall that Sir K. G. Gupta, once Commissioner of Orissa, noted that deep sea-fishing was practised only in Puri out of the whole province of Bengal, in which Orissa then was.

The suggestions in the matter of improving this industry cannot be too many. At present a few general inquiries in regard to fish life and a limited number of co-operative societies mark the progress of the industry. But more funds and more staff are required to enable the men engaged to cope efficiently

with the work that might be needed. Fish oil factories might with advantage be established. Ventures in the direction of tinned and cured fish might be made. The export which is now carried on of the deep sea-fishing to Burma and Calcutta might be made more extensive. Reformed appliances are also required to improve the manner and quantity of fishing. Propagation of certain species and the establishment of hatcheries also might be made, as effective methods of improving the industry.

Mr. K. Choudhury, once Honorary Assistant Secretary of the British India Seamen's Institute, London, in giving evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission said : "There is ■ seaboard of 200 miles from the mouth of the river Subarnarekha to the Chilka borders of Madras, about ■ long ■ the east coast of England, with such important ports as Balasore, Chandbally, False Point, and even Puri, with the magnificent railway system of the B. N. Railway Co., running parallel to the coast. This offers ■ splendid opportunity for the Fisheries Department to study first hand the conditions under which the fishermen ply their trade and to instruct them to improve heir lot ; but little has been done during 5 years' existence of this Department. I have worked with some of them, and lived among them, and say most unhesitatingly that there is no better set of fishermen than these fellows anywhere in India noted for their sea-faring qualities, adventurousness and heroism in rescuing lives and property....."

strongly advocate the establishment of a small training and navigation school for fishermen and mariners, somewhere near Chandbally where boat-building, sail-making, navigation, preservation of fish, and other allied subjects essential for sea-fishing industry, should be taught with money that is being spent on the upkeep of a Fisheries Department located hundreds of miles away in another province, far out of touch with the needs of an industry of first rate importance."

Comment is needless.

HIDES AND LEATHER.—Orissa contains many forests which abound in ■ wealth of brute life. The native *chamar* or *muchi* who tans the hides in his own way is a poor workman in comparison with the skilled labour of the West. In effect, many raw and half-tanned hides are yearly exported out of the country. The village-tanning now confined to a few individuals must assume an organised character, and with ■ proper knowledge of skilled workmanship big undertakings have to be established. The Utkal Tannery at Cuttack with ■ branch at Calcutta which certainly is a successful industry is an instance of how alone the industry can compete successfully with similar ventures. With the advancement in knowledge of chemical processes, chrome tannery also can be established. For this purpose the plentiful flora which exist in the Oriya country will upon suitable examination yield the necessary chemicals for chrome tanning. It must be remembered also that in addition to this qualification Indian hides are the most suitable for

tanning purposes. In all these matters, arrangements to impart technical training and for experimental work are ■ great necessity. The Government instead of selling the hides ■ a monopoly system ■ in Angul might sell them to a private firm or a sum under their own control, and thus encourage in all the districts ■ growing industry.

INDIGO, DYE, AND LAC.—Formerly these industries flourished both in Cuttack and Puri, but ■ now extinct. There are, however, ample facilities for their revival in Singhbhum.

The cultivation and manufacture of natural Indigo by means of scientific agriculture and manufacture will materially strengthen the position of the industry which can then compete successfully even with the synthetic form of indigo.

PAPER.—Paper was ■ somewhat important manufacture under the Muhammadans and was produced from the *Chanpat* fibre. The seats of the industry were Kendrapara, Asureswar, Hariharpur, and Padmapur. In Padmapur it was a very valuable industry. The local offices continued to use the paper thus made ■ it was durable. But the importation of cheap foreign paper killed this industry. The materials for the manufacture of paper such ■ grass, hay, sugarcane refuse, and bamboo found in abundance might, however, be utilised in future for the sake of the industry. It must be remembered that bamboo has been specially recommended for paper

pulp by the Indian Industrial Commission, and excellent paper is now actually made out of this pulp. In this connection, it is recommended that a Government pioneer factory be established somewhere in the province.

BUILDING MATERIALS.—Laterite, sandstone, and rubble are the three important building materials found in Orissa to be employed for purposes of stone-carving, building, and other stone architecture.

These can be greatly improved—(1) by employing stone carvers in the Archaeological Department in restoring old temples, and (2) by mining conducted on a commercial basis to supply building materials to cities. Figures made of stone might be made to replace exotic statues.

GOLD AND SILVER FILIGREE WORK.—Gold is got in Singhbhum as also in Sambalpur and along the rivers in many of the States. Among the places where the best filigree work is done Cuttack occupies from the ancient times the most important place. The Orissa Art Wares of the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., and the other minor works in the town afford striking testimony to this. "The finest articles are produced in the Orissa Art Wares factory, the proprietor of which Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., had brought the improved methods of modern mechanism to the assistance of hereditary training and skill of the native artist."—Cuttack District Gazetteer.

This filigree can be improved among other things

by using improved modern mechanism and by joining together small workshops.

FORESTS.—Forests abound in plenty almost throughout Natural Orissa. They exist in all the States, in Angul, Sambalpur, Ganjam, Jeypore, Singhbhum, and Puri.

As it is, forests are greatly neglected. One important thing is that they are either too much exploited near the roads and public pathways and too little exploited in the interior parts where there are no roads leading to them. If roads are constructed leading to the forests themselves, transport facilities would be greatly increased. Also if, for instance, forest engineers are imported to some of the bigger states from countries where forests form an industrial concern, the industry might thrive with much vigour. Secondly, a sound process of economic exploitation must be pursued. The kind of timber and the shape of timber must be taken into consideration, and the need of different kinds of timber to different uses, and the cutting out of wood in a required shape will fetch in the market a really adequate price. Lastly, much research work has to be undertaken. The possibility of producing pulp, tanning and dyeing materials has to be investigated into. Also fuel plantations might be started. The introduction of cabinet-making, and the revival of wood-carving which was practised before have to be undertaken so that a number of subsidiary industries might thrive thereby.

OIL SEEDS.—Mustard, rape, gingelly, and castor-oil plant are found in Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Ganjam, and several other parts of the country. There is ■ mill to extract oil at Cuttack while one near Aska in the Ganjam District has recently been abolished.

The indigenous process of extraction is very crude ■ it involves retention of ■ great amount of oil in the refuse. Power-driven mills have to be used on an adequate scale for the purpose of extracting oil from the cake. And the Government also will give technical assistance if ventures are made in the direction suggested.

AGRICULTURE AS THE BASIS OF INDUSTRY.

The country being mostly agricultural, the needs of agriculture in its different aspects for growing different kinds of crops require consideration. Many of the products from agriculture might be employed to create ■ number of industries peculiar to the country and its resources.

PADDY.—The staple crop of the people is paddy. It ■ recorded that from the Ganjam area the finest rice used to be exported to places so south as Madras, but it was subsequently prohibited, and Tanjore, and recently, Nellore have taken the place of the district in this respect. In spite of the attention which, therefore, the rice crop inevitably demands, it is not undertaken in really efficient or profitable methods. Of course in these matters the people are not entirely to blame.

We have in ■ large number of cases the wastage of fallow lands and the non-utilisation for agricultural purposes of land in the hilly parts of the States, while people migrate to Rangoon, Assam and other provinces. This requires effective remedies.

State reservoirs are ■ great necessity throughout. In Japan about twice the produce per acre as that in India is got. Deeper ploughing is ■ necessity for good cultivation. By improved methods the proportional yield has to be increased. As regards the methods of cultivation, the soil-inverting ploughs of Shibpore might be used with advantage, and they are cheap too. Experimental farms also have to be created on a large scale, and it must be shown how by the employment of improved methods larger and better results can be obtained.

SUGAR CANE.—In Java where scientific agriculture is adopted, the yield per acre of sugar cane is 40 tons while in India it is 10 tons. This anomaly is due to the want of scientific agriculture in the country. The sugarcane crushing mills which are leased out to the people in villages are not adequately used ; and ■ result the crushing is more often than not defective, ■ the juice ■ extracted falls far short of the quantity which could otherwise be got. And even instead of ordinary mills which are now used, if power-driven mills are employed, far better results could be secured. The growth of sugarcane in small holdings is not favourable to the crop ; and this requires much modification. As regards irrigation

facilities, the use of the pump will greatly accelerate the crop.

Sugarcane is grown all over the district of Puri, ■ also in Balasore, Sambalpur, and Ganjam. The sugar factory in Ganjam at Aska is a big concern owned by an Oriya gentleman and turns out 14 tons of sugar in 24 hours. It is furnished with machinery of the best construction driven by steam power, and supplies the needs of several provinces. The process employed for the manufacture is what is called the Diffusions Process by which the juice of the cane is extracted by ■ thorough saturation in water. No animal charcoal is used for manufacturing the sugar. The manufacture of rum out of the surplus syrup which it is not profitable to convert into sugar and the manufacture of rice-spirit are subsidiary industries attached to the main industry. There is in the factory also ■ cooperage for making casks and a complete establishment for casting in iron and brass. The factory employs about 1,000 men in the busy season.

JUTE.—Jute is grown in Cuttack, Balasore, Ganjam, and possibly in several other places in Orissa. Of these, the crop in Balasore is the most progressive. In ten years the cultivable area increased from 140 acres to 4,000 acres. Jute requires ■ generally rich soil. Jute cultivation makes one 'a man of substance'.

This important industry is in a state of torpor for several reasons. The people of Orissa have to become traders in jute. The weaving of jute fabrics

and the manufacture of gunny bags might without much difficulty be resorted to on an extensive scale. Also, the middle men in jute transactions have to be Oriyas.

COTTON.—Cotton growing and weaving were important occupations of the people till they were stamped out early during the last century. The muslins of Cuttack were much prized by the East India Company. The salem pores from Ganjam which were exported to England drew such admiration that repeated supplies were wanted ; and the muslin that is even now manufactured to the south of Ganjam with a border of gold thread is of the finest quality. The competition which the Orissa muslins were thrown into by machine-made products of foreign countries and the artificial policies which were in general adopted in regard to the local manufactures swamped off the industry.

Cotton is grown in Singhbhum, Angul, Sambalpur, and other parts. In Singhbhum three varieties are grown, while in Sambalpur durable cotton is obtained. Cotton weaving in Balasore is a declining industry. The supply of good seed is always a difficulty, and is perhaps responsible for the peculiarly difficult position in which Orissa is placed, handicapped as it is, by not being a cotton producer on an adequate scale.

Of late, the Puri District Board trained some students at Serampore in improved methods of weaving. The Puri District Gazetteer, 1908 says :

"There is some hope that fresh impetus may be given to the industry under the auspices of the committee of the Utkal Union Conference, the Honorary Secretary of which has taken considerable pains to improve the local looms in ■ practical fashion and to overcome the difficulties which local weavers find in manipulating the fly-shuttle." Of course, nothing tangible on an extensive scale has resulted from these laudable efforts. In this connection one might recall the volume of correspondence the Secretary made on the subject during the first year of the Conference's life. The extensive use of the cheap weaving machines of the Salvation Army is sometimes suggested to improve the industry.

The establishment of workshops on a large scale and the use of the fly-shuttle would largely bring about ■ much needed change in the direction. Modern handlooms in preference to worn out and antiquated ones must also be employed.

SILK.—At present, all the hilly parts of Orissa, including the Feudatory States rear the silk worms and cocoons. The Santals and the Bhuiyas of Keonjher and Mayurbhanj indulge in this occupation, and raw silk is exported from these parts outside. In Sambalpur the weaving of silk forms ■ very important industry. In Singhbhum people rear silk worms. In Berhampur in Ganjam tusser and silk manufacture is carried on even now.

The decline of the industry is due to a closer conservation of Government forests and the clearing

of village forests, which prevent rearing of the cocoons or the tusser and silk worms. In effect the forests in the States and in the zamindaries constitute the sole mainstay for the purpose. The want of improved form of machinery is also responsible for this decline. The absence of good and large filatures give rise to coarse tusser, a fact which affects the growth of the industry in certain respects. The policy which the Government adopt in respect to silk is not entirely devoid of hope. They provide proper assistance for the removal of diseases from the silk worms when weaving is taken up by responsible persons.

As regards the use of machinery that can possibly be made in a country like Orissa in connection with agriculture, the recommendations in the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-18) cannot all be applied in consideration of the financial condition of the people. But machinery can with advantage be used at least for the following purposes :—

1. To pump out water from wells and tanks for purposes of irrigation.
2. To adopt extensively the art of deep ploughing.
3. To extract oil.
4. For crushing sugar cane, etc.

Machinery might also be used for reaping, threshing and winnowing of corn. As regards power, there is

no possibility of adopting water and steam, and plants and instruments have to be worked by animal power.

For making the country in reality industrially efficient, it is necessary that there should be provision for industrial and technical education. The authors of the Indian Industrial Commission deplore [Para. 135] : "The system of education introduced by Government was at the outset mainly intended to provide for the administrative needs of the country, and encouraged literary and philosophic studies to the neglect of those of a more practical character." The Government of India passed a resolution on the subject of technical education in 1888 pointing out the necessity of industrial training in order to secure a greater variety of occupations. As a result of this and other Government measures, the teaching of physical sciences and the starting of technical and industrial schools saw the light of day. The publication of the Report of the Industrial Commission will aid the extension of industrial and technical education.

SHIPBUILDING.—The authors of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission say that shipbuilding is a "potential Indian industry of the future," and suggest the establishment of schools of navigation, where instruction will be imparted in nautical subjects and Marine Engineering. They also recommend the provision for training ships. W. W. Hunter in his work "Orissa" while alluding to the present lack of maritime activity expatiates in the following terms on

the glories of Orissa in the direction of shipbuilding and navigation in the past [See p. 315, Vol. I] : The unwarlike Armenians whom Lucullus and Pompey blushed to conquer supplied, seven centuries later, the heroic troops who annihilated the Persian monarchy in the height of its power. To any one acquainted with the revolutions of races, it must seem mere impatience ever to despair of ■ people ; and in maritime courage, ■ in other national virtues, I firmly believe that the inhabitants of Bengal (for Orissa was at this time included in Bengal) have a new career before them under British rule." As remarked by Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji in his 'Indian Shipping', the central position of Orissa in the eastern coast of India had given her commercial and maritime enterprise. Orissa ■■■ the mistress of the eastern seas, according to Dr. Bhandarkar. That the people colonised Java and rowed the Eastern Archipelago with their merchant vessels are also facts of history. Hunter says that from inscriptions it is evident that ■ knowledge of navigation was part of the education of the kings of Orissa, and that the Hirka Lake was ■ harbour crowded with ships. There was constant traffic among Orissa, China, and Ceylon, ■ is evidenced by the writings of travellers like Hiuen Thsang and others. Tamralipta, the famous harbour has lost its importance. Pipli, Balasore, Chandbally, Puri, and Ganjam are not now ■ important ■ they were previous to the eighteenth century.

The developments in the world situation have made it patent to several political thinkers that "the centre of naval gravity may swing to the Indian Ocean and the south Pacific. No one who is alive to the immense potential wealth of India and Australia can overlook this possibility." If India secures for itself the privilege of a substantial measure of self determination and consequent Responsible Government, it is inevitable that it will have an independent navy of its own. Lord Hardinge alive to the immense possibilities of the future makes mention in the August Despatch of 1911 of the suggestion of a seaboard for Behar and Orissa. The *Modern Review* while commenting on the Patna University Bill at its first introduction in the Imperial Legislative Council made a strong plea to include the teaching of shipbuilding in the educational programme of Orissa. It remarked: "Orissa has a long sea-coast. When the earliest maritime and mercantile history of Orissa is properly written by some Oriya scholar, the maritime and commercial enterprise and achievements of the province will be fully understood and her present and future possibilities measured to some extent. If the Oriyas were sufficiently educated and had a Government under popular control, they would certainly try to have some good harbours along their sea shore. A progressive Government ought certainly to make arrangements for teaching shipbuilding and navigation to the people of Orissa." We have already adverted to the evidence which Mr. K. Choudhury

of the Fisheries Department had given before the Industrial Commission regarding the subject of establishing ■ small navigation and training school. Chandbally, Puri, False Point, and Gopalpur are still existing ■ ports, and the India General Steam Navigation Co., plies across Chandbally and False Point. The opening of these ports during the middle of the last century gave ■ great impetus to trade and effected quite ■ revolution in the whole province. Before their establishment Orissa was an isolated country but now it has become a busy centre of trade. Puri as also Gopalpur export large quantities of rice to the Madras ports, Ceylon, and Maritius. From these Orissa ports steamers and sailing vessels ply to the coast of Burma, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, ■ well as to Ceylon, the Laccadive and the Maldive Islands, and Maritius.

Apart from the commercial importance to which these ports would be raised consequent on their development, from the military point of view also they would be considerably strengthened. Speaking about this coast Bussy, the great French General is said to have remarked that it can be defended, by 100 men against an army. The fact that the whole coast is now entirely defenceless was unpleasantly made apparent when during the war the *Emden* caused considerable havoc to the coast. In this connection, attention was focussed on the necessity of building steel ships, but the Industrial Commission Report remarks that "until the local supply of steel

has been greatly increased, it is more than doubtful if expectations in this direction can be realised." But precisely in this respect the Orissa Coast occupies ■ far stronger position than any coast line in India. Firstly, the Orissan Coast occupies the centre of the Coromandel Coast fronting the waters of Burma and the Eastern Archipelago. The coast is in close proximity to gigantic forests in the hilly and Garjat tracts of Orissa which abound in plentiful timber likely to be useful in building ships. The large coalfields that supply coal to the Indian Railways, the Bengal Iron and Steel Co., and the Tata Iron and Steel Co., are in the neighbourhood of this coast. As regards the supply of steel for the construction of ships of this material, the position of iron mines in Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj which are connected by railway worked by the Tata Iron and Steel Co. at Sakchi (now Jamshedpur) all situated at ■ distance of ■ few miles from the sea, in which area the Bengal Nagpur Railway runs, gives the coast a unique advantage. Karachi might be ■ important centre in the Western Coast, but in the Eastern Coast Orissa alone can claim the peculiar privilege of possessing such ■ centre. And Chandbally which is at present known to be the best harbour in Orissa might for these reasons enjoy a naval school.

APPENDICES:

APPENDIX—A.

Linguistic Delimitation of the Provinces in India.

Under this section we have avoided all discussion in regard to the scheme set forth to delimitate the provinces on a linguistic basis. The existing number of provinces are fifteen, while the following scheme suggests nineteen—only four anew. Except in respect of necessary alterations, the scheme resembles the one submitted by the Standing Committee of the Andhra Conference to the Indian National Congress of 1916. It might be of interest to remember that after 1917 the Andhra districts were included in a separate provincial circle by the Congress:

Ser. No.	Provinces.	Language.	Districts.	Area in sq. miles.	Population, 1911.
1.	Ajmere and Merwara	Local dialects of Rajasthani and Hindi	2	2,711	501,395
2.	Andamans and Nicobars	... Bengali Assamese	46 p. c., 22 p. c., Hindi and Oriya	3,143 12	26,459 52,959
3.	Assam	Bengali ... Bengali	c., 12 6	6,713,635	414,412 44 millions
4.	Beluchistan	Oriya	27	45,804 75,848	15½ millions
5.	Bengal minus ■ part of Midnapore			89,000	
6.	Orissa including (i) Orissa Division (ii) Singhthum (iii) Madras Oriya tracts (iv) a part of Midnapore (v) ■ part in C. P.				
7.	31 Feudatory States (i) Bihar, Chota Nagpur (excluding Orissa) (ii) Hindi-speaking area of C. P.	(Bihari) Hindi the rest Marathi	... ...	104,287	36½ millions
8.	(i) Berars (ii) Marathi-speaking of C. P. (iii) of Bombay]			(i) Berars (ii) Bombay (iii) the rest	17,718 37,192 20,982
				,	3 millions 6 millions 4½ millions
					75,892
					13½ millions

No.	Provinces.	Language.	Districts.	Area in sq. miles.	Population, 1911.
9.	Gujerathi-speaking area of Bombay	Gujerathi	6	13,710	3½ millions
10.	Sindh	Sindhi	6	47,066	3,513,435
11.	Coorg	...	1	1,582	174,976
12.	Andhra Province (Telugu-speaking area in Madras Presidency)	Telugu	10	57,000 nearly	13½ millions
13.	Dravidian Province (Tamil-speaking area in Madras)	Tamil	10	50,000	15 millions
14.	Malabar (province)	Malayalee	1	5,794	3,015,119
15.	Kannada (province)	Canarese	■	34,729	7,235,355
16.	N. W. Frontier Province	...	5	16,466	2,196,933
17.	Punjab	...	29	97,209	19,974,956
18.	United Provinces	...	48	107,164	47,182,044
19.	Delhi (enclaves)	...	■	557	391,828

APPENDIX—B.

Gazetteer of the Oriya Tracts.

In this section, only brief notes are given, and regard is had ■ to what might interest the reader.

CUTTACK DISTRICT.

Banki.—A large Government estate. Till 1839 this was ■ a Tributary State.

Cuttack.—The capital of the province of Orissa. The town stands nearly at the apex of a triangle, the two sides of which are formed by the River Mahanadi and its branch, the Katjuri. Population, 52,528. Founder of the town, Makar Kesari (953—961 A.D.). The Barbati Fort was built by Mukund Deo, the last Hindu king (1560—68) and contained nine lofty courts. The Mughal and Mahratta governors resided in ■ palace at Lalbagh on the bank of the Katjuri.

False Point.—Cape, harbour, and light-house in the Kendrapara subdivision. Harbour is safe and roomy, the channel properly buoyed, and ■ soft mud-bottom prevents injury to vessels running aground. The port is kept open all through the year, but recently the harbour has silted ■ (?).

Jajpur.—The town shared with Bhuvaneswar the honour of being the capital of Orissa till the tenth century A.D. There is ■ Temple of Viraja. The arches in the Tentulia bridge constructed by an early Orissa king are ■ unique specimen in Hindu architecture.

Saranggarh.—Kalapahar fought his last great battle under its walls with the chiefs of Orissa.

PURI DISTRICT.

Bhuvaneswar.—A *Kshetra* according to Skanda Puran. This is one of the most interesting places in all India. There are still about 100 temples and a score of tanks. The Lingaraj Temple is one of the best specimens of Orissa architecture.

IMPORTANT CAVES :—

<i>Khandagiri</i>	<i>Udaygiri</i>
Navamuni	Rani
Satbakhra	Swargapuri
Akaeganga	Jayvijay
Devasabha (Jaina temple)	Vaikunthpuri
Ananta	Manchpuri
	Ganesa
	Hati
	Sarpa
	Byaghra

Dhauli.—A village situated at about 4 miles S. W. of Bhuvaneswar on the south bank of the Daya. There are very important Asoka edicts.

Khurda.—A junction of railway lines.

Konarak.—This is known as *Arka Kshetra*. The temple absorbed the revenue of Orissa of 12 years. This is sometimes known as the Black Pagoda. The magnificence of the architecture and the titanic scale are noteworthy. In many senses, it is one of the greatest specimens of the world's sculpture.

Pipli.—The Marathas were here defeated by the British in 1803. Oriya tailors live in this place.

Puri.—The Head-quarters town, in the puranas known as *Purushottam Kshetra*. The Jagannath Temple and its *mahaprasad* are noteworthy. The town is now also a health-resort.

Satyabadi.—There is the Sakhigopal temple here. An open air school of a unique kind has been here established.

BALASORE DISTRICT.

Balasore.—It contained some of the earliest European settlements. The first English factory was first established here in 1633. Here "shipping was built": it ■ "a great sea-town". The abandonment by Government of its monopoly of the salt trade and manufacture dealt ■ serious blow to the prosperity of the district.

Chandbali.—In Bhadrak sub-division. It owes its existence to the enterprise of Capt. Mc. Neille in the early seventies who sailed up the Dhamra with Ravenshaw for discovery of a fort. This is now the most important port in Orissa. The value of exports from the port in 1905—6 was Rs. 33½ lakhs and of imports Rs. 28½ lakhs.

Jaleswar.—A village. It gave its name to one of the Moghul sarkars of Orissa, and included ■ large part of Midnapore and was for ■ time an important frontier fortress.

Kupari.—A village. This is the only place in North Orissa where distinct traces of Buddhism are still observable.

Pipli.—A village. It was ■ the most important Orissa port.

Soro.—A village. It was a place of some strategic importance.

ANGUL DISTRICT.

Khondmals.—One of the sub-divisions of the district.

Phulbani.—The chief place in the district.

SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.

Bargarh.—One of the two sub-divisions of the district. An important cattle market is held.

Borasambar.—This is an important zamindari.

Hirakud.—This is an island in the Mahanadi. Here diamond-mining ■ formerly carried ■ by ■ class of people called Jhoras, for whose maintenance, it is said, the revenue of about 30 villages on either bank was assigned by the former rajas of Sambalpur.

Jharsugura.—An important railway junction, connecting the Sambalpur line with the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

Narsingnath.—A place of pilgrimage. The building of the temple is ascribed to Bijal Deo Ganga-bauri, raja of Orissa. The inscription here is in transitional Oriya character. This forms ■ important inscription.

Sambalpur.—Head-quarters town of the district. The name is derived from *Samalaidevi*, the tutelary deity. Her temple is well-known.

SINGHBHUM DISTRICT.

[This district is now in the Chota Nagpur Division.]

Chaibasa.—The chief town in the district and the administrative headquarters. The natural drainage of the town is very good. The town is situated on a rocky rising ground overlooking the Rôro.

Chakradharpur.—A village in the Porhat estate.

Dhalbhum.—It formed part of the Midnapore District till 1833, when the district of the Jungle Mahals ■ broken up. It was then constituted a part of the Manbhumi District, and in 1846 it was transferred to Singhbhum owing to press of criminal work in Manbhumi.

Ghatshila.—In this place a Middle English school and an Industrial school have been established by the zaminder of Dhalbhum.

Kalimati.—Now known ■ Tatanagar. It is a village in Dhalbhum. To the north of the Railway station there is the Tata Iron and Steel Co. There is a Railway line from here to Garumahishani.

Kolhan.—This is ■ Government estate under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum. The bulk of the inhabitants ■ Ho's, and the policy of the Government has been to keep the Kolhan as a reserve for them. There are 72 manjis' circles distributed among 26 pirs.

Porahat.—This large estate comprises the zamindaries of Anandpur, Kera, Bandgaon, Chainpur.

GANJAM DISTRICT.

[*This Oriya tract belongs to Madras.*]

There are many zamindaries and proprietary estates in the district :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Khallikote and
Atagad | 14. Jalantra |
| 2. Palur | 15. Budarsingi |
| 3. Biridi | 16. Mandasa |
| 4. Humma | 17. Tarla |
| 5. Dharakote | 18. Parlakhemidi |
| 6. Badagada | 19. Aska estate |
| 7. Kattingia | Kurla estate |
| 8. Sergada | Devabhumi estate |
| 9. Sankhemidi | |
| 10. Badkhemidi | 20. Baruva estate |
| 11. Chikiti | 21. Urlam |
| 12. Surangi | 22. Raghunathpur
(Tekkali) |
| 13. Jarada | 23. P. Tekkali |
| | 24. Nandigam. |

} Aska
} Malukdari

Most of the zamindaries are permanently-settled. Except in 2, 3, 4, 14, 19, 20, 21, Kshatriya zamindars, all Oriyas, are at the head. The zamindars of Parlakhemidi and Khallikote-Atagad own the biggest zamindaries in the district and each pays more than Rs. 50,000 pieshush.

PLACES OF INTEREST :

Gopalpur.—The most important sea-port in the district.

Ganjam.—Once the chief town of the district. It was also an important port. The ruins form a subject of study.

Sonnapur.—Was once a sea-port. It is somewhat of a sanatorium.

Baruva.—The second important port in the district.

Berhampur.—Now the chief town of the district. The District Judge's office is located here. There is a second grade Arts College. The town is justly famous for silk. This

formed part of the Mohuri zamindari, the descendants of whose family still live.

Chatrapur.—An important place in the district. It is well-known as a health-resort. The District Collector has his offices in this place.

Chilka.—A portion of this important lake is within the limits of the district.

Ichapore.—A place of some importance. Was the seat of Mussalman governors when there was the Ichapur District.

Mahendragiri.—The most important mountain in all natural Orissa. The view which one gets while at the top is very charming.

Aska.—A small but important town. The well-known sugar factory and distillery are here established. They are under an Oriya gentleman.

Russelkonda.—One of the most picturesque places.

Parlakimedi.—The raja of the place has a Second Grade Arts College in the town, which has a municipality.

Jaugada.—Well-known for the famous Asoka edicts.

Taptapani.—A place of scientific importance.

AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES :

Rice, sugarcane, ragi, pulses, etc. Silk and tusser cloths are got in Berhampur. In Chicacole and elsewhere Muslins of a very fine variety are obtainable. At Aska, there are sugar and rum factories. The salt that is got is of the spontaneous or karkatch variety.

TENURES :

Zamindari, Malukdari, Agraharam (inam), Amanyas, Mokhasas; Ryotwari.

VIZAGPATAM AGENCY.

Bissamkatak.—In the southern portion of this taluq there is a good deal of fine, open, dry cultivation. Wonderful tobacco is got. Literally, the word means 'poisonous fort'.

and perhaps [redacted] the [redacted] because of the virulence of malaria. A feudatory of Jeypore lives in the town. The place was formerly one of the worst centres of Meriah sacrifice.

Borra Cave.—A festival is held on the Sivaratri day. Natural scenery is excellent. There is a chain of caves.

Gudari.—A centre for sal wood.

Gunupur.—Picturesquely situated in the Vansadhara. The taluq forms an outlet for export via Parlakimedi. The people are industrious.

Gupteswar Cave.—This is popularly declared to have been the scene of several Ramayanic episodes.

Jeypore.—Very malarious (?). This was captured from Purushottam Deo, king of Orissa. Here is a goddess Kanaka Durga. The chief has the maharaja title. The zamindari is divided into upper and lower halves, each administered by a manager at Jeypore and Parvatipore respectively. The net income is over 7 lakhs.

Koraput.—Seat of the divisional officer. There is a Superintendent of Police and an Assistant Superintendent of Police. The headquarters of the officers were transferred to this place from Jeypore, because of malaria. But this place also seems to be better in this respect.

Malkangiri.—Almost the whole of the taluq is a vast jungle. The place was the hotbed of Meriah sacrifice 50 years ago.

Matsya Gurnda.—Literally 'fish pool'. A curious pool stream plunges into a great hole and reappears a hundred yards lower where fish are. At Sivaratri, a festival is held.

Nandapur.—Headquarters of the Pottangi Taluq. Was formerly the capital of the Jeypore estate. In old records of the estate, the property was always known as Nandapore raj property. There are relics of the old capital still.

Naurangpur.—After Malkangiri, the taluq is the largest in the

presidency. Many have migrated to this place from Kalahandi because of oppressive taxation (*sic*).

Payakapad.—This is a *syasan* granted to Bhuvaneswar Praharaj an Oriya Brahmin by a former maharaja of Jeypore.

Rayagada.—A thriving trading centre.

IN THE RAIPUR DISTRICT.

[*A few square miles of the district are Oriya-speaking. The district is in the C. P.*]

Khariar.—A large zamindari in the Mahasamund Tahsil, area 1,489 square miles. It is said to have been formed long ago out of 3 garhs viz.,—Kholagarh, Guragarh, Kumragarh, which formed part of the Patna State together with Khariar proper which was bestowed by the raja of Jeypore as his daughter's dowry — her marriage with Gopal Rao Deo, the younger son of Pratap Deo, the Maharaja of Patna. It was one of the 18 Garjat chieftainships known — the Athara-garh held in subordination to Patna.

Phuljhar.—Area, 842 square miles. Was transferred to the district from Sambalpur. The population (1901) is 102,135. It was one of the eighteen Garjat chieftainships held in subordination to Patna. It claims descent from the Royal Gond House of Chanda. Most of the Gond rajas and zamindars of Chhattisgarh come from Phuljhar, and Phuljhar zamindari is still recognised by them — the oldest branch of the family and — the head of their race (?).

Sankari.—A village in the Sihawa tract of the Dhamtari Tahsil. It is held revenue-free by the raja of Bastar along with five other villages viz.,—Nagari, Birguri, Samra, Ama-gaon, and Churiasa, all of which — situated in close vicinity to Sankari. These villages were given for *charis* or bangle expenses to his daughter by the raja of Kanker, when the Sihawa tract formed part of his dominions. This princess was married — the raja of Bastar. At Nagari

there are remains of ■ old fort and the story goes that this was the first village the Kanker family occupied when they migrated from Puri in Orissa.

Saraipalli. Headquarters town of the Phuljhar zamindari.

Sirpur.—Situated on the right or east bank of the Mahanadi.

Mr. Hiralal has deciphered ■ long inscription of the place.

IN THE BILASPUR DISTRICT.

[*A small zamindari-area in the district, which is in the C.P., is Oriya-speaking.*] The Oriya tracts in this district ■ comprised by Chandrapur-Padampur and Malkhorda estates, all in the Janjgir Tahsil. These were transferred from the Sambalpur District to this tahsil in 1905. Chandrapur is the headquarters of a Revenue Inspector's Circle and has a police station with outpost in Padampur.

IN THE MIDNAPORE DISTRICT.

[*The district is in Bengal, to the north of Orissa. The Oriya area is nearly 2,500 square miles.*]

Birkul.—A village in the extreme south-west of the Contai subdivision. This was ■ sea-side resort for Europeans in the 18th century—a sanatorium.

Contai.—(Kānhi) Headquarters of the subdivision. It ■ formerly the headquarters of ■ Salt Agency. Contai became of importance in the days when European ships began to visit the ports in the neighbourhood. Though situated inland, it lay ■ the road from Balasore and Pipli to Hijili, the three chief ports ■ the west of the Bay of Bengal. It was called Kendoa by Rev. John Evans in 1679. The south-eastern part of the sub-division is ■ maritime tract lying along the Bay of Bengal. The remainder is watered by the Haldi and the Rasulpur. The embankment system is of special importance in the subdivision owing to the danger of storm-waves and

tidal inundation, which is obviated by the construction of the great sea-dyke and of minor embankments. This is the most progressive part of the Midnapore district. A second grade Arts college will soon be started at Contai.

Dantan.—Village in the south of Midnapore sub-division. There are two large tanks here, one the Bidyadhar tank and the other Sarasankha. The former was excavated, according to tradition, under orders of Bidyadhar, the minister of Mukund Deo, the last Hindu king of Orissa.

Gopiballabhpur.—A village in the west of the Midnapore sub-division. It is the home of the Gosain, who is the general guru of the Gaura caste throughout Orissa. The village belongs to the Mayurbhanj raj.

Hijili.—A village in the Contai sub-division. The name was formerly given to the littoral tract extending from the mouth of the Rupnarayan along the right bank of the Hooghly estuary almost as far as Jaleswar in Balasore, which lies a few miles beyond the S.W. boundary of Midnapore. The *mahāl* of Māljhāta, which was included by Todar Mall in *Sarkar* Jaleswar corresponded to the greater part of what we now call Hijili. In Prince Shuja's "Improved rent-role" Hijili ■■■ separated from Orissa and attached under the name of *sarkar* Māljhāta to Bengal. It was ■■■ important emporium, according to what Ralph Fitch wrote (1586) about it.

Jalamatha.—A temporarily-settled estate in the Contai sub-division.

Jamirapal.—A small estate. Before British administration, the Nayagram and Jamirapal estates were separate, and their zamindaries were feudatories of the Raja of Mayurbhanj, from whom they received the titles of Mangraj Bhuiya and Paikara Bhuiya.

Majnamatha.—A large temporarily-settled estate comprising 11 parganas.

Malighati.—This estate is scattered over the districts of Midnapur, Hooghly, Balasore, and Puri.

Midnapore.—(Medinipur). In the Ain-i-Akbari described as ■ large city in *Sarkar* Jaleswar. In 1658 A.D. it became ■ part of the new *sarkar* Goalpara, Subah Orissa.

Maghulmari.—A village in Midnapore subdivision about 2 miles north of Dantan. It commemorates a great battle fought between the Afghans under Daud Khan and Todar Mall (about 1575). The defeat of the Moghuls was, however, temporary.

Tamluk.—It is now no longer in the Oriya tracts. It ■ once very famous ■ a sea-port in the eastern seas. From this port there were communications to China and Ceylon.

FEUDATORY STATES OF ORISSA.

Badamgarh.—Peak in Bonai State, situated in 21°49' N., and 85°16' E., and rising to a height of 3,525 ft. above ■ level.

Bamanghati.—The northern sub-division of Mayurbhanj State with headquarters at Bahalda.

Bamra.—Railway station, B. N. Ry. It is connected with Deogarh by ■ good road and telephone. A considerable trading community resides here, and the place forms a depôt for the export of ■ considerable number of sleepers from the state forests.

Baripada.—Headquarters of the Mayurbhanj State, on the Burabalang river. The place is connected with the B. N. R. at Rupsea by the Mayurbhanj State Railway. It is a trading centre of considerable importance. A municipality ■ established in 1905.

Baud.—Here is one of the most important ancient temples, the Nabagraha (9th century A.D.) built of red sandstone. There ■ also 3 Siva temples with fine carved interior.

Bhawanipatna.—Headquarters of Kalahandi. The Imperial Sub-Post Office is in communication with Sambalpur : the post plies also to Raipur and Madras. It is a trading mart of considerable importance. It is frequented by traders from Raipur in C. P. and Parvatipore in Madras. It [] formerly the headquarters of the Political Agent specially appointed for the Kalahandi State.

Bhuban.—In Dhenkanal State. The town is locally reputed for its bell-metal ware.

Binka.—A village. It has a municipality. The quality of the tusser cloth here manufactured is excellent and ranks next to the highly finished work turned out at Barapali in the Sambalpur District.

Biera.—A station on the B. N. Ry. There are lime works, and considerable export is carried [] with Calcutta.

Bolangir.—Headquarters of the Patna State.

Bonaigarh.—Headquarters of the Bonai State. It is surrounded on two sides by the Brahmani river. The site, which is very picturesque, is 50 ft. above sea-level.

Chhagan.—A small village in the Atagad State. There is a small Christian colony under the charge of the Baptist Mission at Cuttack.

Deogarh.—It is surrounded by hills. It is the headquarters town of Bamra. It is lit by electric lights. A waterfall [] at hand has been utilised [] supply the town with water through pipes. A high school with good scientific equipment exists.

Dhenkanal.—It is a prosperous town. The residence of the chief is exceedingly handsome.

Gangpur.—The confluence of the Koel and the Sankh is said to be the [] of amours of Parasyara, father of Vyasa.

Kantillo.—A village in a handsome state [] the right bank of the Mahanadi. It is a considerable seat of trade. The manufacture of brass [] [] carried on.

Kapilas.—A hill range in the Dhenkanal State, situated between 20°41' and 20°37' N. and between 85°55' and 85°43' E. The highest peak of this range is 2,239 ft. above the ■■■ level.

Keonjhar.—Headquarters of the Keonjhar State ■■■ the Midnapore—Sambalpur road. The post runs to Anandpur and Champua, and also to Jaintigarh in the Singhbhum District.

Khiching.—A village in Mourbhanj containing various archaeological remains, such as, several brick and stone temples. One of the temples near the village is of great interest and seems to have been repaired in Man Singh's time, to whom another unfinished temple should probably be ascribed.

Kumarkela—(or Rajgangpur) Important trading centre with a large bazar, lying ■■■ the Railway line.

Kumritar.—At 21°45' N. and 85°09' E. Peak in Bonai State. It rises to a height of 3,490 ft. above sea-level.

Kunjabana.—Headquarters of the Daepalla State.

Malayagiri.—A lofty peak in Pal Lahara 3,895 ft. in height. It commands a magnificent view.

Meghasant.—One of the chief mountain peaks in Mourbhanj. Height, 3,824 ft.

Padmanati.—A trading village in the Khandpara State ■■■ the Mahanadi.

Ponposh.—The Sankh and south Koel meet here, and the united stream under the name of Brahmani flows thence onward. This is the prettiest spot in the Gangpur State. (See under Gangpur.)

Sonepar.—On the south bank of the Mahanadi river. It is the headquarters of the State of the ■■■ name. The town contains several substantial double-storied buildings belonging to traders and other respectable classes. In the centre of the town there is ■ well-known temple of

Mahadeo, called Suvarnameru. The town has a municipality. The Maharaja of this State is a K. C. I. E.

Sundargarh.—It is the headquarters of the Gangpur State. It is connected with the Jharsugurah Railway station.

Talcher.—Several masonry houses of well-to-do traders can be seen in the place. It has an Ayurvedic Hall in addition to a Dispensary. Talcher is a mart of considerable importance.

CHOTA NAGPUR STATES.

[*The following two states are administered by the Political Agent of Orissa States.*]

The pirs in the Saraikala State are Bankasi, Dugri, Gamheria, Ichha, Kandra, Kuchang, and Sadant. Karaikala is one of the estates of the raja of Saraikala.

The two tracts that are of importance in the Kharaswan State are—Kharaswan and Asantalia.

STATES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[*The five states which are proposed to be included in the future Orissa are—Bastar, Saranggarh, Ratgarh, Udaipur and Jashpur.*]

Barsur.—An old village in the Bastar State, formerly the capital of the Nagvamsi kings, 55 miles west of Jagdalpur.

Bastar.—A village which was once the capital of the State of the name.

Bataikela.—One of the gold-collecting centres. The place is in Jashpur.

Bene.—The ancient capital of Jashpur in the time of Dom Chiefs. There is a fine waterfall in the Ib river.

Bhairamgarh.—In Bastar. Three inscriptions were discovered.

Bharamurio.—Peak in Jashpur 3,390 ft.

Bijapur.—In Bastar. There are old remains of a fort.

Bulga.—A large village on the boundary line of Raigarh towards Chandrapur zamindari. It was originally the capital of the State. The family goddess of the raja is here, but the chief is precluded by custom from visiting or setting foot in the village.

Chhal.—A village in Udaipur. Plenty of coal can be got here. A company has taken out a license.

Chitrakot.—A village on the Indravati in Bastar. There is a fine waterfall.

Dhanora.—In Bastar. There is a tradition here that Raja Karna, probably of the Kanker family, built 5 temples at Sihawa and was ruling here.

Dokra.—A big village, and one of the goldwashing centres in Jashpur.

Ib.—River, mostly watering Jashpur. There are several waterfalls.

Kotwar.—Peak in Jashpur, 3,393 ft. high.

Kuteshwar.—A village in Bastar. There are many caves here.

Narainpal.—A Sanskrit inscription tells us that the temple here was constructed by — widow of the grand-father of Bir Kinhar Deo.

Narainpur.—Sujan Rai, the founder of Jashpur resided on a hill close by and is still worshipped at the time of the succession of the chiefs.

Ranighula.—The highest peak in Jashpur, 3,527 ft. high. It is the source of the Ib.

Sankra.—In Saranggarh. The inhabitants are all Oriyas. There is a school for Oriya boys.

Saranggarh.—There is a quarry of building stone out of which good slabs are got. This quarry is about 2 miles away from the capital of the State. There is a temple to Samaleshwari Devi.

Saria.—In Saranggarh. The place is peopled mostly by the Oriyas. There is an Oriya boys' school here.

APPENDIX—C.

Census Errors.

Without entering into a detailed discussion, it is proposed to indicate — to how there have been manifest errors in the census enumerations of Oriya tracts, such as the Ganjam District. The case of the Midnapore District is too patent, and though with the information at our disposal, it is rather difficult to deal with the matter authoritatively, the disparity between the Oriya-speaking population of the two previous decades and that in 1911 will impress the casual observer immensely :

1891	...	...	572,798
1901	...	...	270,495
1911	...	...	181,801

In the Ganjam District, however, the matter is otherwise. The Census Report of 1911 informs us that in the whole presidency, there has been a decrease of 204,991 speakers during the decade, and that the decrease in Ganjam District is 316,314. That this is not due to any natural causes of communal disintegration must be obvious from the very elementary fact that the Telugus with whom the Oriyas live are of the Dravidian races, thus from the nature of things excluding any such possibility. While during 1901—1911 the population of the district has increased from 1,689,142 to 1,870,826, the Oriya population has fallen from 1,274,975 to 958,661. The Census Superintendent of Madras, Mr. Malony, in commenting on this anomaly says : "The proportional variation in the — of Ganjam is — remarkable — to suggest either careless enumeration at one census or the other; or else a possibility of deliberate misrepresentation by Telugu or Oriya enumerators not uninfluenced by the contentions which prevailed — five or six years back between

Telugus and Oriyas of the district." This diagnosis no doubt is in the right direction, but the conclusion he arrives at unwarranted — it is by facts, is altogether unconvincing.

	Number per 1000 of population who speak			Number per 1000 of the population who are of	
Language	1901	1911		1901	1911
Oriya	755	512	Oriya castes	473	262
Telugu	203	449	Telugu castes	466	453

The marked decrease in Oriya castes — represented in the enumerations are sufficient to destroy all conception of race — community. In a tract where the Oriyas form the permanent inhabitants and most of the sister race are in the nature of immigrants who have come in to fulfil exigencies of public service, and occupy the towns and certain important places along the railway line, it is but natural to suppose that the numbers representing each Telugu caste would be a few, and the proportion of castes in the two communities might, — in 1901, not be very dissimilar. But the most palpable mistake is in the enumerations of Oriya castes themselves. As — often pointed out in the press, lakhs of Oriyas such — Kalinjies, Kshatriyas, Belmas, village servants, village artisans, Kumuties, and others have been erroneously classified as Telugu-speaking castes. It is singular that Mr. Malony himself states that only 10 main castes are enumerated in 1911 — against 75 in 1901.

It is also significant to note that the Madras Government itself has declared : "Telugu is the vernacular in the south-east of the district, but the total number of persons whose mother tongue is Telugu is understood to represent only 17.6 p.c. of the population of the district." [Vide Legislative proceedings page 73 Fort St. George Gazette, dated 7th March 1911.] But the census of 1911 represents the Telugus — constituting 31.34 p.c. of the population! The inference is obvious.

It — gratifying to note that the Madras Government in response to the agitation in the local press and representations

made to them, have promised reconsideration of the question on the occasion of the next Census.

It might be pointed out that the 17·6 p.c. of the population are found in a compact ■■■ in the Chicacole Taluk.

It may ■■■ fairly be realised how such evils ■ these ■ traceable to the present state of administrative vivisection.

APPENDIX—D.

The Address of the Utkal Union Conference to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu—the Memorial.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE E. S. MONTAGU,

Secretary of State for India.

The humble memorial of the undersigned most respectfully sheweth :—

The undersigned memorialists who are mostly the popular representatives on the Legislative Councils, Local and Imperial, have been authorised by the Utkal Union Conference representing the Oriya-speaking tracts — under Bihar and Orissa, Madras, and Central Provinces ■ its 12th sitting to lay the grievances of the Oriyas which they do in the hope that their representation may receive sympathetic consideration.

The Oriyas numbering about 11 millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects inhabiting mainly the Division of Orissa, the Districts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam Agency under Madras, and Singhbhum in Chhotanagpur, accord you ■ cordial welcome to this country in which Orissa has been conspicuously known ■ the "holy land" of India on this most auspicious occasion of your visit to His Majesty's great Eastern Dominions when the British Empire is engaged in the righteous struggle to punish ■ brutal enemy whose one object is the destruction of small nationalities like the Belgians.

The past history of the Oriya nation, their architectural fame, and their achievements in religion, politics, and the

language and literature of their country, still mark them out as ancient with a genius all their own, the remains of which still be seen in the temples of Puri and in the Oriya classics of Ganjam.

The Oriyas were under one administrative system under Oriya monarchs who ruled for centuries over a vast tract of country between the sacred rivers, the Godavary and the Ganges, and founded Puri (Jagannath) as the religious capital of India. Yet nothing in modern times has stirred the heart of the Oriya nation as deeply as their present administrative dismemberment under different local Governments.

The advance of English education among neighbouring races due to facilities given to them at an early stage in British administration in capital towns and their rise in consequence to positions of influence similar to those of an intermediary ruling race which led to the practice of substituting Oriya by Telugu, Hindi or Bengalee, and thereby to deprive the Oriya child of his mother-tongue in certain parts where the school reminds him of the condition of a bird in a cage taught to talk the language of his master, the interposition of an Indian interpreter of a different race when the Oriya suitor seeks justice in a law court to the neglect of the popular Vernacular, the advantageous position of education and influence held by the predominant portion of the provincial population which affords them unique opportunities for posts and preferments and representation in the Councils and development of vested interests, the situation of Oriya tracts at the tail end of each Province necessarily kept backward, the indifference of the authorities to the continuous prayers of the Oriyas for their administrative reunion, all these present a striking contrast to the policy pursued by British Government in the administration of the other parts of India.

The occasional expression of sympathy of certain individual officers and the noble yet unsuccessful endeavour, for example,

of the Government of Lord Curzon to reunite the Oriyas under ■ administration, and the recent joining of only ■ portion of Oriya tract to Bihar for the supposed advantages of an impracticable sea-board to the Province, have raised serious doubts in the minds of eleven millions of people with regard to the pronounced policy of the British Government to give equal opportunities to all classes of people to reap the benefits of the British Rule.

The eleven millions of the Oriyas who have just survived dissolution ■ a nation now look up to you for the satisfactory solution of what they feel to be the life and death problem to them and the glowing picture which you were pleased to draw of ■ federated India in your memorable speech in Parliament in the Debate on Mesopotamia Commission has inspired them with fresh hope and renewed confidence that the administrative union of Oriya tracts may be a necessary preliminary to the projected Reforms.

For reasons detailed in Appendix ■ hereto attached the memorialists pray :—

1. That the Oriya-speaking tracts, outlined by Dr. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India vol. V (a sketch map of which is attached hereto in the appendix A) be brought together under one separate Administration of the type which Bihar and Orissa ■ has.

2. That if it be not feasible under the present circumstances to organise a separate administration for the Oriya-speaking tracts referred to above the proposed united Orissa be placed under the Government of Bihar and Orissa for the present with a view that it may at a future time develop into ■ separate administration. In the latter case, wider representation in the councils, both Local and Imperial, and in the University may be provided in ■ manner that would admit of the proposed united Orissa being granted ■ equal status with Bihar, in

order to avoid the risk of the Oriyas being relegated to a subordinate position which has been their lot in the past.

We beg most respectfully to subscribe.
Your humble memorialists

(Sd.) Madhusudan Das.
(Sd.) Rajendranarayan Bhanj Deo.
(Sd.) Sudam Charan Naik.
(Sd.) Brajasundar Das.
(Sd.) Harihar Panda.
(Sd.) Gopabandhu Das.
(Sd.) Sobhachandra Singh Deo.

APPENDIX A TO THE MEMORIAL.

[The map with slight variations is the same as Grierson's, while the map given in the frontispiece to this volume is a further modification—authors.]

APPENDIX B. TO THE MEMORIAL.—ARGUMENTS.

STATE OF ORIYA-SPEAKING TRACTS PRIOR TO BRITISH RULE.

The history of the political ascendancy of the Oriya kings who ruled for centuries over a vast tract between the Ganges and the Godavary explains the existence of Oriya aristocracy which is even at present such a special feature of Ganjam and Jeypore Agency. The following extracts from the Ganjam District Manual may be quoted:—

- (A) "The Zamindars of Ganjam, most of whom derived their power and estates from the Gajapati kings of Orissa who granted them their lands on condition of feudal service ■ ■ ■ Many of them appear to have been nominated to their estates by Purusottam Deo, who ruled over Orissa in 1479 to 1504 A. D." (Page 18).
- (B) "The dominions of the Orissa kings certainly extended beyond the Kistna river and their power was at its height in 13th, 14th and 15th centuries" (Paragraph 2, page 97).
- (C) "The Orissa kings"—
- (1) "Kesari line of kings said to have ruled over Orissa for more than six hundred years and doubtless extended their sway over the neighbouring tract of Ganjam" (Paragraph 2, page 96).
 - (2) "The Gajapathi princes (Gangetic dynasty) gave to the country a long line of rulers and their descendants ■ now occupy considerable territorial possessions in both Orissa and Ganjam. The rajas of Ganjam have moreover always looked upon the kings of Orissa as their chief fountain of honour and at the present day they still acknowledge the Raja of Jagannath or Puri a descendant of the ancient Orissan kings ■ their chief. The foundation of the town of Ganjam is usually attributed to ■ member of this family" (Paragraph 3, page 96).
 - (3) "Purusottam Deo (a Gangetic king of Orissa) established many of the smaller zamindars in Ganjam, whilst others were confirmed by him in their estates upon their presenting themselves before him and tendering him their allegiance in the course of his progress through the country" (Paragraph 1, page 98).

(4) "The Gajapathi princes (of Orissa) still however continued in power both in the provinces of Chicacole and Rajahmundry until [redacted] time later" (Page 99).

To the same effect [redacted] the facts recorded in the Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1885 (page 151, Vol. I and page 77, Vol. II) and in Stirling's History of Orissa.

PRESENT STATE DUE TO HISTORICAL ACCIDENTS.

The British acquisition of the Ganjam District preceded that of Orissa by some 37 years. The other Oriya-speaking tracts were brought under the British occupation at different times and from different directions. The present administrative management was due to circumstances [redacted] which the people had no control and which determined the condition of provinces and divisions with absolutely [redacted] regard for the feelings and sentiments of the people and their history, ethnology, traditions, peculiar customs, manners and language.

UNION A NECESSITY BOTH FOR THE PEOPLE AND FOR [redacted] GOVERNMENT.

The re-union of Oriya tracts has been a serious problem both to the Government and to the people. The following quotation from paragraph 13 of Government of India's letter No. 3678, dated the 3rd December 1903, to the Government of Bengal explains the situation :—

"The difficulties arising from the Oriya problem thus created has been for years a [redacted] of anxiety and trouble to the different provinces concerned."

"The Government of Madras have repeatedly complained of the anxieties imposed upon the administration by the great diversity of languages (Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese) with which

Madras Civilians ■■■ called upon to cope and which render the transfer of officers from one part of the Presidency to another a matter in any case of great difficulty and often of positive detriment to the public interest. These disadvantages exercise ■■■ injurious effect not only upon the administration, but still more upon the people. Where the population speaking a distinct language and the ■■■ over which it is spoken are too small to constitute a substantial portion of a Province, the foreign unit is almost of necessity neglected. Under ordinary conditions the Government is unable to retain in it a superior staff who have become acquainted with the local language, and with the local customs which invariably accompany it. It is often impossible to officer the subordinate staff from local sources, and foreigners have to be brought in who ■■■ ignorant alike of the people, their language and their ways. The Government may order that the vernacular shall be the language of the Government Offices and Courts but since neither officers nor clerks know this vernacular properly, compliance with the order is often impracticable and almost always incomplete. Nowhere ■■■ these drawbacks more conspicuous than among the Oriya-speaking people, distributed ■■■ has been pointed out, between three (now four) administrations and ■■■ source of constant anxiety to each. Hence in dealing with ■■■ question of this kind, it may be that the true criterion of territorial re-distribution should be sought not in race but in language.

* ■■■ The Oriya-speaking group in any case emerges ■■■ distinct and unmistakable factor, with an identity and interests of its own."

The Commissioner of Orissa Division made in 1895 ■■■ pro-

posal advocating the inclusion of all Oriya-speaking tracts in one division, both ■ administrative and political grounds (*vide Calcutta Gazette Supplement*, dated 23rd October, page 2357).

POSSIBLE LOSS OF ORIYA IDENTITY.

The Oriyas have suffered long under the malign influences in operation in the administrative areas under different Local Governments, tending ■ the destruction of their solidarity ■ a distinct community; and it is to maintain the identity and to further their special interests that they are exceedingly anxious. And their anxiety ■ appreciated by Lord Crewe in his Durbar Despatch of 1911 when he said "Orissa has long felt uneasiness at ■ possible loss of identity ■ ■ distinct community." But this appreciation, sympathetic ■ it might be, resulted in nothing better than tying the Orissa Division to Bihar only to "present ■ seaboard to that Province" and thereby distributing the Oriyas ■ four different administrations instead of three which was erstwhile their case.

The Oriyas are a distinct race with their own characteristics and ideals. They remain like ■ foreign unit in Madras, ■ long as they ■ forced into an unnatural and unwilling combination with races entirely differing from them in manners and customs, language and literature, history and traditions, psychology and character. They incur the danger of having their national characteristics and aspirations sacrificed to the predominating portion of the Provincial population. They ■ a minority in each Province and have to stand against odds in the battle of life.

PARTIAL REMEDY.

In 1903, a final solution of the problem was attempted by the Government of Lord Curzon in their proposal (*vide letter No. 3678, dated 3rd December, to the Government of Bengal to unite the Oriya tracts under ■ administration.*) But the proposal was only partially carried into effect by the transfer

of the Sambalpur District owing to the unfortunate absence of Lord Curzon on leave and the appointment in his place of Lord Ampthill who as Governor of Madras had objected to the transfer of Oriya tracts in his Presidency to Orissa. This half measure — disappointing to the people and the cry for a united Orissa has been repeatedly made through the resolutions at the annual sittings of the Utkal Union Conference representing the Oriya-speaking tracts under different administrations. Representations and memorials to Local and Supreme Governments have all along been made without effect. THE SAME QUESTION WAS MOVED ■ THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT IN 1912 AND ELICITED THE SYMPATHETIC REPLY OF THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE ■ INDIA (MR. MONTAGU) TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PROPOSED TRANSFER OF GANJAM TO ORISSA MIGHT BE MADE AT ANY TIME IF ACCUMULATED EVIDENCE BE FORTHCOMING FOR THE CHANGE.

DISABILITIES ■ DISADVANTAGES.

I. LANGUAGE.—The Oriya Vernacular for instance had struggled long with its Bengalee competitor before it could re-establish itself ■ an officially recognised language in Orissa. A much worse fate had befallen it in the districts under Madras and Central Provinces Administrations. Telugu and Hindi languages having been substituted for indigenous Oriya ■ the medium of instruction and ■ court language. The Oriyas in Singhbhum ■ compelled to receive instruction and conduct official business through Hindi or Bengalee instead of their own mother-tongue, though Hindi-speaking people there represent only 4 per cent. of the total population.

II. LOSS OF INFLUENCE.—The economic, educational, and other disadvantages due to the administrative dismemberment of the Oriyas have everywhere given opportunities to the advanced ■ to develop vested interests in the Oriya-speaking districts. All the high posts of trust and responsibility are theirs. They command the majority in all public bodies, local and municipal,

Oriyas forming therein only an insignificant minority, and that in their own districts.

III. POPULAR REPRESENTATION.—Owing to their minority and backward condition in each Province the Oriyas find themselves at a disadvantage in the matter of representation in Legislative Councils, both Local and Imperial. As matters stand, at present, in the Oriya-speaking tracts outside Orissa Division there is no chance of an Oriya being ever returned by election to the local Legislative Councils. Even in the Orissa Division, they find themselves in a small minority in the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa, a condition which might be far improved if the outlying Oriya-speaking tracts were added to Orissa. The present position of all Oriya tracts in this respect is most precarious.

"CHANGED CONDITIONS AND ■■■ ARGUMENTS."

In reply to the addresses presented by the Landholders' Association and Oriya Samaj, Ganjam, to His Excellency Lord Pentland during his Ganjam tour, for the administrative union of Oriya tracts with Orissa, His Excellency gave a hope of consideration of the prayer if conditions changed and new and weighty arguments were produced. The present world wide war is significant of the fact that the British Lion is the protector of the weak nationalities. The dismembered Oriya nation ask for re-union. They take their stand on the hopeful reply of Lord Pentland who meant every word he said to the Oriyas of Ganjam.

Conditions have since been rapidly changing in India. Competition in all advanced Provinces is overwhelmingly increasing. The weak and the minor communities must go to the wall in the struggle. Indian and Home Governments have already declared the policy of increasing the association of Indians in the administration towards the goal to Self-Government. The Oriyas are naturally anxious for their own protec-

tion. The benign Government of Madras must reconsider the ~~—~~ of the Oriyas anxious to join Orissa, when they stand, under the present conditions, little chance of a fair representation of their interests in the councils in the near future.

OUTLYING ORIYA TRACTS PROPOSED TO ~~—~~ ADDED TO ORISSA.

(I).—*Ganjam District minus Chicacole Taluk and Vizagpatam Agency in Madras.*

Ganjam lies on the southern and western limits of the Puri District in Orissa, and Vizagpatam Agency borders on the south-western side of Kalahandi in the Sambalpur District of Orissa.

(a) As per Census 1911 Ganjam District *minus* Chicacole has a net population of nearly two millions with an Oriya population of 1,091,053 against Telugu population of 579,332, the rest being the speakers of other languages, mainly Khonds and Savaras—(784,286).

(b) In the Vizagpatam Agency, out of a total population of 1,020,151, 645,402 are Oriyas including Porojas and Savaras who speak a dialect of Oriya against Telugu population of 17,626, the rest being Khonds.

The last Census Report (1911) of Madras shews a reduction in the Oriya population of Ganjam by nearly three lakhs compared with the Census of 1901 and explains the difference by stating that the previous ~~—~~ must be wrong. But the Census report wrongly classifies castes common to both Oriyas and Telugus and mixes up Oriya castes among Telugu, e. g., Kshatriyas, Kalinjies, Belamas, and eight other castes, *vide* page 118, Vol. XII, Part 2. The matter ~~—~~ also brought to the notice of Government who promised consideration of it at the next Census. This explains the reduction. The error must be due to the ignorance of the Telugu Census officials of Oriya

language or their deliberate misrepresentation or both. Separating these Oriya castes from Telugu, the Oriya population of Ganjam will be, in round figures, 15 lakhs ■ against ■ lakh of Telugu population in the whole of Ganjam *minus* Chicacole. Hence the net population of Oriya Ganjam proposed to be united with Orissa will be 1,955,144 ■ nearly two millions out of which 15 lakhs are Oriya-speaking against one lakh of Telugu speakers, the rest being mostly speakers of Khond, the unwritten language of the hill tribes, who ■ taught Oriya in the schools in the Agency. Thus the change proposed ■ Madras consists of nearly 16,600 square miles of territory with a net population of about three millions out of which over two millions are Oriyas against over two lakhs of Telugus, the rest being hill tribes.

(2).—*Oriya Tracts in the Central Provinces.*

- (a) Kharlar contains 80 per cent. of Oriyas with an Oriya Zamindar at their head.
- (b) Padmapur and Chandrapur estates contain a fairly large proportion of Oriya population.
- (c) Phuljhar Zamindari contains 50 per cent. of Oriya-speaking people.

[The last two tracts formed part of the Oriya District of Sambalpur in Orissa till 1903.]

- (d) The Feudatory States of Bastar, Saranggath, Raigarh, Udaipur and Jashpur ■ partly Oriya and partly Hindi-speaking.

. (3).—*Singhbhum in Bihar and Orissa.*

In the Singhbhum District the Oriyas number 125,593 against 258,201 of Ho's and 108,584 of Bengalee-speaking people, out of ■ total population of nearly seven lakhs, Ho being an aboriginal dialect which will give place ■ Oriya in due course. (*Vide* paragraph 9 of the letter of Government of India No. 3678, dated 3rd December 1903.)

Most of the people in the District returned — Bengalee-speaking are Oriyas by — but the Oriya language having been abolished from schools and courts, and a language partly Bengalee and partly Hindi having been substituted in its place, the Oriya-speaking people — losing their mother-tongue and are consequently diminishing in number through this forced adoption.

(4).—*Midnapur in Bengal.*

The — proposed to be transferred from the Midnapur District lie in the south of the District which borders — the Balasore District in Orissa. The Oriya-speaking people number 270,000, mainly confined to the southern part of the District in thanas Dantan, Gopiballabhapur, Egra, Ramnagar, Contai, Pattaspur, Jhargaoon and Narayangar. The following is worthy of note :—

In 1891 the Oriya-speakers in Midnapur were ...	572,798
In 1901	... 270,495
In 1911	... 180,801

The decrease is obviously due to the replacement of Oriya by Bengali in schools and courts. (*Vide* Census report of Bengal 1911, Part I, Vol. 5, page 389). This is — instance of deliberate destruction of the Oriya identity by other stronger races.

BASIS FOR PROPOSED ORIYA PROVINCE.

In any scheme of territorial re-adjustment for the formation of a Provincial autonomy the Oriyas would claim the areas indicated by Dr. Grierson — Oriya-speaking tracts in his comprehensive and careful Linguistic Survey of India. (*Vide* Map of the Oriya-speaking tracts at page 367, Vol. V)—

"The Orissa country is not confined to the division which now bears that name. It includes a portion of the District of Midnapur in the north, which together with — part of Balasore, was the "Orissa" of the

phrase "Bengal, Bihar and Orissa" met in the regulations framed by the Government in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Oriya is also the language of most of the District of Singbhum belonging to the division of Chotanagpur and of several neighbouring native states which fall politically within the [redacted] division. On the west it is the language of the greater part of the District of Sambalpur and of a small portion of the District of Raipur in the Central Provinces and also of the number of native states which lie between these districts and Orissa proper. On the south, it is the language of the north of the Madras District of Ganjam with its connected native states, and of the Jeypore Agency of Vizagpatnam. It is thus spoken in three Governments of British India, viz., in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, in the Central Provinces, and in the Madras Presidency." (Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, page 367).

The total area and population of Oriya-speaking tracts (70,000 square miles and over 14 millions of people) are fairly large for a single administration as compared with Assam with an area of 52,959 square miles and a population of 6,713,635 or the Central Provinces and Berar with [redacted] of 100,345 square miles and a population of 13,916,305. The accompanying printed tabular statement shows the area, population, and the proportion of Oriya-speaking people in the specific tracts to be added to Orissa as per Census of 1911. The figures for the Central Provinces tracts are taken from the Blue Book (Reconstruction of Provinces of Bengal and Assam, in continuation of Cd. 2658) 1905. The Oriya-speaking population of Ganjam has to be read in the light of the arguments stated above.

APPENDIX C. TO THE MEMORIAL.

(The table indicating the Oriya tracts proposed to be united was the ■■■■■ that given in Chapter IX to this volume, with certain alterations).

APPENDIX D. TO THE MEMORIAL.

*Extracts from letter from H. H. Risley, Esq., C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Government of India, to the
Chief-Secretary to the Government
of Bengal.*

No. 3678, DATED CALCUTTA, THE 3RD DECEMBER 1903.

"9. On a careful consideration of the foregoing arguments the Government of India are disposed to favour the transfer of Chutia Nagpur (except the District of Manbhumi, and possibly part or the whole of Hazaribagh) with its Tributary Mahals to the Central Provinces. The only modification in this arrangement that may be required will be contingent upon the decision that may be arrived at concerning the Oriya-speaking peoples. If these ■■■ all to be concentrated, ■■■ is proposed below, in a single tract to be administered, not by the Central Provinces but by Bengal, then (supposing geographical conditions to render this practicable) it may be desirable to exclude such Oriya-speaking elements ■■■ there are in Chutia Nagpur, and to leave them with Bengal. They ■■■ contained almost exclusively in the District of Singbhum, where there are 100,000 Oriya-speaking people out of a total population of 613,000. In the centre of that district 235,000 people speak a Munda language, named Ho, which in course of time will probably give place to Oriya. The retention of Singbhum by Bengal would be facilitated by

the existence ■ its eastern border of the large Bengali thana of Chatulia (220,000 population).

10. I am next to pass to a discussion of the case of Orissa. The total area of Orissa is 24,000 square miles (9,800 British territory), population 6,290,000 (4,343,000 in British territory) land revenue 28 lakhs. A glance at the map will show that, while under existing conditions Orissa is somewhat of a projection from the south-western corner of Bengal, if the proposals already made ■ regards Chutia Nagpur ■ carried out, its physical detachment from the remainder of that province will be still more pronounced. These circumstances, added to others which will be mentioned, have always brought the ■ of Orissa under examination when the question of relief to Bengal has been raised, and its transfer to the Central Provinces has been suggested on several occasions. The reasons urged in favour of this change are the ■ now ■ they were then. They may be stated and criticised as follows :—

- (i) There is a historical connection between Orissa and the Maratha tracts of the Central Provinces. This argument might be of ■ use ■ supporting other considerations that pointed in the same direction. But it will be generally admitted that it has no independent value, since the question now under consideration is concerned not with ancient history, but with present and future needs.
- (ii) Orissa is a 'temporarily settled area (as are the whole of the Central Provinces), while the remainder of Bengal, with the exception of certain tracts in Chittagong which will probably be transferred, is under the Permanent Settlement. This is a very weighty consideration, and the Government of India do not underrate its value. But in the present situation, wider considerations even than those of Land Revenue settlement and administration must prevail.
- (iii) *The national tongue of Orissa is Oriya, and as Oriya*

is the language spoken by $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people in the Central Provinces (mainly in Sambalpur and the attached States), therefore it may be contended Orissa ought to be joined to the Central Provinces. The argument from language is, however, equally capable of being used ■ a still more convincing plea for the union of the smaller Oriya-speaking ■ with the larger; and it is in this sense that it will presently be employed.

■ * ■

12. The future of Orissa will not, however, be determined exclusively by ■ consideration of the points that have already been put forward. Other and wider issues are, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, involved. They embrace questions of race and language, in addition to or apart from the more arbitrary distinctions of administrative or territorial partition. Oriya has been already referred to as the prevalent language of Orissa both in the plain districts and in the Tributary Mahals. It is also the vernacular of a large surrounding area. This area comprises—

- (a) Sambalpur and certain adjacent Feudatory States, now under the Central Provinces.
- (b) A part of the Singhbhum District of Chutia Nagpur, now under Bengal.
- (c) The Ganjam District, now under Madras, in which, out of a total population of 1,689,000, 1,275,000 ■ Oriya-speaking.
- (d) The Ganjam Agency Tracts, also administered by Madras, in which, out of ■ population of 321,000 87,000 are Oriya-speaking. The majority (157,000) of the people of these tracts speak Khond, a Dravidian language which, ■ education spreads, is certain to give place to Oriya, while the speakers of Telugu number only 5,800.
- (e) The Vizagapatam Agency Tracts, also under Madras,

in which, out of a population of 850,000, 409,000 — Oriya-speaking. The Vizagapatam District proper is in ■ different position, since, out of ■ population of 2,082,000, only 30,000 are Oriya-speaking, and this — accordingly does not enter into the field of the present discussion.

13. The difficulties arising from the problem thus created have been for years a source of anxiety and trouble to the different provinces concerned. No official complaint has been received from Bengal, because the factor of its Oriya-speaking population has been one with which it has had to deal for ■ century, and to which it has learned to accommodate itself ■ best it could. The Central Provinces, on the other hand, have experienced such difficulties in connexion with the administration of Sambalpur, that the Chief Commissioner asked in 1901 to be relieved of that district altogether, and although the Government of India were then unable to comply with the request, they were compelled to rescind a previous decision of 1895, which had proved unworkable in practice, and to restore Oriya as the Court language of Sambalpur. Similarly, the Government of Madras have repeatedly complained of the anxieties imposed upon the Administration by the great diversity of languages (Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese) with which Madras Civilians are called upon to cope, and which render the transfer of officers from ■ part of the Presidency to another a matter in any case of great difficulty and often of positive detriment to the public interest. THESE DISADVANTAGES EXERCISE AN INJURIOUS EFFECT NOT ONLY UPON THE ADMINISTRATION, BUT STILL MORE UPON THE PEOPLE. Where the population speaking a distinct language and the area over which it is spoken are too small to constitute ■ substantial portion of ■ province, the foreign unit is almost of necessity neglected. Under ordinary conditions the Government is unable to retain in ■ a superior staff who have become acquainted with the local language, and with the local customs which invariably accompany it. It is often impossible

to officer the subordinate staff from local sources, and foreigners have to be brought in who are ignorant alike of the people, their language, and their ways. The Government may order that the vernacular shall be the language of the Government offices and Courts; but since neither officers nor clerks know this vernacular properly, compliance with the order is often impracticable and almost always incomplete. Nowhere are these drawbacks more conspicuous than among the Oriya-speaking peoples, distributed, ■ has been pointed out, between three administrations, and ■ source of constant anxiety to each. HENCE IN DEALING WITH A QUESTION OF THIS KIND, IT MAY ■ THAT THE TRUE CRITERION OF TERRITORIAL REDISTRIBUTION SHOULD ■ SOUGHT NOT IN RACE BUT IN LANGUAGE. Applying this test in the present ■ it is doubtful whether any positive distinction can be drawn between the Oriya-speaking peoples of the plains and those of the hills. The Oriya of Sambalpur is described indeed as a hybrid *patois*, ■ compared with the purer tongue of Orissa. No doubt there is some truth in this. Hillmen always talk a ruder dialect than plain-men, and uncivilised tribes than civilised peoples. But there is ■ to believe that in the eastern half of the Sambalpur District good Oriya is spoken, though in the west it gradually melts into Chhattisgarhi Hindi. In any case practical experience goes to show that the connection between ■ spoken language and its dialect or its *patois*, is ■ more potent ground of union than ■ purely racial difference is ■ of separation. The Oriya-speaking group in any ■ emerges ■ ■ distinct and unmistakable factor, with an identity and interests of its own.

14. The opinions of the members of this group have, on several occasions, been expressed in no uncertain sound. They entertain, ■ far as is known, ■ particular desire for the disruption of existing ties, ■ compared one with the other; but they entertain the strongest desire for the disruption of all such ties if by these means they can purchase the much greater advantage of linguistic union. They ask not ■ much to be taken

away from Madras, with whose administration they — not believed to have grounds for complaint, or to be added to — taken away from the Central Provinces, — to remain under or be transferred to Bengal, as to be welded by the link of their common language into — single administrative whole. The Government of India have received a petition from the people of Ganjam, in which they speak of themselves — dissociated from Oriya brethren, and of Orissa as "a limb separated from the body," and they pray, not for a patchwork redistribution, but that the Government of India "will be graciously pleased to bring together the scattered divisions inhabited by Oriya-speaking peoples, i.e., Ganjam in Madras, Sambalpur in the Central Provinces, and Orissa in Bengal, under the Government of Bengal or under any one Government and one University." To the same effect is the prayer of Raja Baikuntha Nath of Balasore that "all the districts and States speaking the Oriya language be united together and placed under one common administration, no matter whether under Madras, Bengal, the Central Provinces, or a separate administration." The Government of India have further been informed on the best authority that even those among the people of Sambalpur who are most attached to the Central Provinces "would prefer to sever connection with the province to giving up their mother tongue." It is for unity on the basis of language, not for redistribution on the basis of administrative advantage, that all these memorialists plead. It is not contended that opinions may not be forthcoming on the opposite side. If they exist they will doubtless be evoked by the present discussion. So far, however, — any expression of local views has yet reached the Government of India, it coincides with the independent impression that has been formed by them.

15. On the grounds above stated the Government of India are disposed to UNITE THE WHOLE OF ■■■ ORIYA-SPEAKING PEOPLES, BOTH HILL AND PLAIN, UNDER ■■■ ADMINISTRATION, and to make that administration, Bengal. In other words they would add to

Orissa the Oriya-speaking —— of Sambalpur (615,941 Oriya-speaking people out of a total population of 829,698), and its Feudatory States, the Ganjam District (with the possible exception of one taluk in which Oriya is said not to be the prevalent language) and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency Tracts. Such a scheme would solve the question of language —— and for all. This change would relieve both the Central Provinces and Madras of a troublesome excrescence upon their administrative system; and it would result in handing over the Oriya problem to one Government alone, on a scale and with a unity that would admit of its being treated with consistency and efficiency."

APPENDIX E.

I. Memorandum of Suggestions by the Utkal Union Conference.

Submitted to the Franchise Committee.

1. Provincial Legislative Council.

I.—FRANCHISE—The qualification of a voter should be on the basis of education and property.

(A) Education—(1) Those who have passed the Middle Vernacular examination or any higher standard examination recognized by the Government Educational Department or by a University.

(2) Title-holders in any public examination in any Oriental classic.

(B) Property—(1) Land-owners (including small Zamindars, tenure-holders, holders of revenue-free estates, mafidars and tenants) paying a _____ rent of Rs. 16 or a cess of Re. 1.

NOTE—This qualification will meet the condition of Orissa where land-owners mostly own small holdings or estates. If the property limit be raised a fairly broad franchise cannot be obtained in Orissa. The limit may however be raised in other parts of the province if thought necessary.

(2) All persons paying income-tax.

(3) In urban areas, persons paying municipal tax or rate of Re. 3/- and above.

N. B.—Every voter should have attained the age of discretion which should be fixed at 21 years.

2.—CONSTITUENCIES AND COMPOSITION OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—

The number of members in the Provincial Legislative Council should be 100 to be distributed as follows—

Nominated Officials	20
Elected Non-Officials	■
<hr/>	
	100
Rural Non-Muhammadans	33
Urban „ „	15
Rural Muhammadans	12
Urban „ „	4
Landholders	8
Planting	1
Mining	1
University	1
Domiciled (?)	2
Indian Christians	2
Anglo-Indian	1

For Orissa—25.

Urban non-Muhammadans 7 (Cuttack 3, Puri 2, Balasore 1,
Sambalpur 2, Angul 1.)

Rural non-Muhammadans 11 (Cuttack 4, Puri 2, Balasore 2,
Salbalpur 2, Angul 1.)

Urban Muhammadan	1
Rural Muhammadana	2
Landholders paying a revenue of Rs. 3,000	
or a cess of Rs. 200	2
Domiciled (?)	1
Indian Christian	1

NOTE—The Conference does not favour the system of nomination. Besides the official members who would be nominated, all others should be elected—Muhammadana and .

Landholders by separate and exclusive electorates, the other two minor communities (Domiciled and Indian Christian) should have two seats, one for each, reserved in the plural constituencies with the general electoral roll as suggested in paragraph 232 of the Report.

There should be one polling station for the area under each Police-Station. The polling station should be set up in a central place and care should be taken to keep it free from all undesirable influences. The presiding officers should be selected from among Deputy Magistrates, Munsiffs, Sub-Registrars, and Sub-Deputy Collectors. Each presiding officer should be assisted by at least two non-official gentlemen of position especially nominated by the Government for the purpose. The voting should be by ballot.

II.—*Indian Legislative Assembly.*

The number of members should be 150 instead of 100 as suggested in para 274 of the Report. The Conference appreciates the difficulties in the way of direct election and accepts the suggestion of indirect election by non-official members of Provincial Councils, the number of members suggested in the Report for each Province being raised proportionately.

The system of direct election at present existing for Muhammadans and Zamindars should continue.

It is to be noted here that the Orissa members on the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council should not vote in the election of members from that Council to the Indian Legislative Assembly. They will combine with members representing other Oriya-speaking tracts in other Provincial Legislative Councils in electing their own members to the Indian Legislative Assembly.

III. *Council of State.*

The Conference is not in favour of formation of a Council of State and so refrains from making any suggestion on the subject.

ABOUT ORIYAS SPECIALLY.

Representing — it does the various Oriya-speaking tracts scattered under different administrations, the Conference considers it its duty to place before the Committees the views not only of the people of Orissa under the Government of Bihar and Orissa, but of the Oriya tracts under Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal. Under the present circumstances, the Oriya people — everywhere in a minority. The Conference has been urging for the union of these tracts under a separate administration. The authors of the scheme have recognised the reasonableness of the claims put forth by the Conference and recommended the formation of a Sub-Province for Orissa in paragraph 246 of their report.

Although the subject does not apparently come within the scope of inquiry of the Committees, the Conference thinks that in deciding questions affecting franchise and constituencies, the problem of the Oriyas being in the minority under the existing administrative units should not be excluded from consideration. It has over and over been recognised that the Oriyas emerge as a distinct factor in all the Provinces they are found. Their interests are everywhere the same and — quite distinct from those of their provincial neighbours. The principle determining the franchise for Bihar cannot conveniently suit the people of Orissa. This has been indicated above. So also what would be suitable to the Telugus of Madras will not fairly and reasonably be applicable to Madras Oriyas. This will be the — everywhere with regard to the Oriyas whose condition and circumstances are — and uniform in all the provinces. In these circumstances the union of the adjacent Oriya tracts under a separate administration should have preceded the determination of the question of Franchise &c. Till that is done, the Conference suggests that safeguards should be devised for the protection of the interests of the Oriyas in the provinces where they — in a minority. For political Orissa, a scheme for representation in the Provincial Legislative Council has been

outlined above. In other provinces representation of the Oriyas should be secured by reserving elective seats in plural constituencies with a general electoral roll suggested in para 232 of the Report. The case of the Madras Oriyas deserves special consideration. And the Conference recommends that at least 6 seats should thus be reserved for them in the Legislative Council of that Presidency, and one seat each for the Oriyas of Bengal and Central Provinces in the provincial Councils of their respective Governments.

As for the representation of the Oriyas in the Indian Legislative Assembly it has been suggested above that an electorate should be formed by the combination of all the elected representatives from the different Oriya-speaking tracts in their respective provincial Legislative Councils and this electorate will return to the Indian Legislative Assembly at least three members to represent the whole of the Oriya-speaking tracts.

IV. *Separation of Functions, Imperial and Provincial.*

The Conference accepts the division of functions between the Imperial and Provincial Governments suggested in the Report with only this modification, that the manufacture of Salt in any province where there are natural facilities for it should be a provincial subject.

V. *Separation of Reserved and Transferred subjects in Provincial Governments.*

While accepting in general the division of Reserved and transferred subjects illustrated in the Appendix to the Report, the Conference suggests that any subject sought to be transferred should be transferred in its entirety. For instance education as a transferred subject should include University education also.

(Sd.) BRAJASUNDAR DAS,

*Secretary to the Council of
THE UTKAL UNION CONFERENCE.*

**II. Memorandum of Evidence given on behalf of
the Utkal Hitaishini Samaj, Parlakimidi
before the Franchise and Subjects
Committees at Madras.**

INTRODUCTION.

The long-standing grievance of the Oriyas is their administrative vivisection into four provincial administrations.

2. The artificial distribution of _____ without reference to affinities of language and _____ has been a constant _____ amongst the Oriyas. This state of things brings about a predominance of neighbouring communities; and this in turn results in an all-sided backwardness of the community, educationally, linguistically, and economically.

3. The Oriyas have been agitating for an administrative union for a long time. In 1903, Lord Curzon proposed to unite all the Oriya tracts into a separate administration, but it failed because of opposition from interested quarters. Since 1903 Sambalpore was added to Orissa, and there were some other slight adjustments of territory. The Utkal Union Conference was instituted in 1903 to voice the opinion of all Oriya people. The Utkal Hitaishini Samaj, Parlakimidi had, however, been instituted in 1884 for redressing the grievances of the Oriyas in the matter. Ever since, countless memorials and petitions have been submitted to the Governments, Local and Imperial; and the problem had been carried to the House of Commons and a promise was given that favourable consideration would be made of the question if sufficient arguments were forthcoming. In the Madras Oriya tracts, where the problem is most intense, certain G.O's have been passed recognising the claim of the Oriyas as a distinct community. But, _____ account of the want of a steady policy in the matter, the situation has not materially improved.

4. In November 1917, the address presented to Mr.

Montagu at Calcutta on behalf of the U. U. Conference laid stress on the urgency of the need to take in hand the proposal regarding the administrative union of the Oriya tracts. The community at present is kept divided under four provinces, Behar & Orissa, Madras, Bengal, and Central Provinces. The number of Oriya-speaking people in the Madras Presidency is 1,663,272.

5. The Oriyas are recognised by the authors of the "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms" as a distinct community in para 246, and reference is made to Orissa there and suggestion is made for the formation of a Sub-province for the Oriyas. If a distribution of provincial ■■■ on the basis of language in the case of the Oriyas be not effected simultaneously with the Constitutional Reforms, the case of the community would be far from satisfactory, inasmuch ■■■ fresh forces of national disruption would be brought into play with the introduction of the Constitutional Reforms, if it be not balanced by a corresponding removal of the national grievance. The total population of the Oriyas distributed in all the four provinces is ■■■ less than eleven millions and the area in which they live would be bringing together fourteen millions of population.

PROPOSALS.

I. Franchise.

THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The proposal to secure interests of minorities by nomination is of little benefit to the Oriyas in the outlying tracts such as Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts including the Agencies. In the peculiar circumstances in which the Madras Oriyas are placed, it is necessary that there should be ■■■ separate electorate for them on the same lines ■■■ for Muhammadans.

2. In Madras, the strength of the Legislative Council is

proposed to be 125, of whom 25 shall be nominated. Of the elected 100, ten shall be reserved for Oriya elected members. Two of the ten elected members should be from among the Oriya landholders of Madras.

3. The voting qualifications for electors for the Provincial Legislative Councils shall be as low as possible, compatible, of course, with their ability to exercise responsibility. The qualifications of a voter should be fixed with reference to education and property.

(a) *Education*.—all matriculates and all persons holding certificates of a similar value.

(b) *Property*.—i. Land-owners, including tenure-holders, holders of revenue-free estates, tenants, etc., paying a revenue or rent of Rs. 16/- or a cess of Re. 1/-. The representation of Provincial Legislative Council shall be made directly. In the case of the Oriyas, who are exceptionally poor, the voting qualifications in any case must be lower than those fixed for others.

ii. All persons paying income-tax.

iii. In urban areas, persons paying municipal tax or rate of Rs. 3/- and above.

N. B.—Every voter should have attained the age of discretion which should be fixed at 21 years.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The strength of the Indian Legislative Assembly should be 150, of whom 120 should be elected. Of these 6 shall be Oriya members elected from all the Oriya tracts in the country constituted into a separate electorate.

2. The elected Oriya members of all the Provincial Legislative Councils, with which the Oriyas are concerned, shall elect 6 members to the Indian Legislative Assembly.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

The strength of the Council of State should be 50, of whom 25 shall be elected. Of these elected, ■■■ shall be ■■■ Oriya member. One other Oriya member from among the Oriya landed aristocracy shall be nominated.

2. The Oriya elected member is to be elected by the Oriya members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

3. In view of the Council of State ultimately developing into ■ full-fledged Second Chamber as part of ■ bi-cameral system, the justice of demanding an Oriya nominated member from amidst the aristocracy of which there is a large number in the Oriya country, will be easily perceived.

II IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS, AND DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS
■ THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

In most matters the suggestions in the "Report" in regard to the above should be generally adopted.

2. The abolition of divided heads under revenue between Provincial and Imperial Governments should be effected. But the case of the Oriya people should be specially considered wherever there is ■ likelihood of their interests clashing with the kind of Provincial Autonomy which is foreshadowed in the "Report".

3. The contribution from Madras to the Imperial Indian Exchequer ■ proposed in the "Report" is abnormal. This should in any ■■■ be diminished.

4. In accordance with the statement under "remarks" in Appendix II, list I, item 11, and in consonance with the widespread desire of the Madras Oriyas to be enfolded in the same University as that for the people of Orissa, the present Patna University should not be provincialised at least, till a proper distribution of Oriya areas ■ foreshadowed in para 246 of the "Report" is effected.

5. For the further safe-guarding of Oriya interests when

legislation is being enacted in either the Provincial or the Imperial Councils, the following proviso should always guide legislative procedure :—"No bill, — any clause thereof, nor any resolution affecting the Oriya community, which question is to be determined by the members of the community in the Council concerned shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of the community in the particular Council, Imperial — Provincial, oppose the bill, or any clause thereof, or the resolution." (Analogous to the Congress-League Scheme 1916, section I, Art. 4.)

6. "Naturalisation" laws should be passed for application in all provinces generally and in the Oriya-speaking country particularly, in regard to members of neighbouring communities not indigenous to the province. A fairly long period of time for domicile should be fixed before such elements of the population can be treated as really indigenous in questions relating to the enjoyment of civic rights.

APPENDIX F.

The Utkal Union Conference.

The following will give in ■■■ analytical form ■■■ account of the activities of the Conference during the 16 years of its life :—

FIRST SESSION.

The first sittings were held at Cuttack under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj Sri Ramchandra Bhanj Deo on 30-12-1903 and 31-12-1903. The Raja of Kanika, Sri Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The delegates from the outlying tracts excluding Orissa numbered 335. Five Oriya chiefs attended. A type of national *paydi* was adopted. An exhibition organised by the Conference was opened by the Commissioner of Orissa. The subjects discussed were—thanking the Viceroy of India for his proposal to unite the Oriya-speaking tracts; expressing gratitude for establishing Oriya ■ court language in Sambalpur; formation of a number of committees for social reform work, work regarding culture of literature, and in connection with agriculture, industries, etc.; arranging for sending students abroad; and forming ■ executive committee for the ensuing year with the one previously elected in addition to 10 ■■■ secretaries.

During the following year, 381 branch associations were organised by 15 competent paid missionaries of the Conference. Branches were in Cuttack 170, Puri 109, Balasore 24, Midnapore 2, Calcutta 4, Ganjam 23, Sambalpur 5, Garjats 44. Two social reform pamphlets were issued to the people. A portion of an Oriya dictionary was compiled by a sub-committee. Rs. 100 were spent on collection of old manuscripts. A pamphlet on

the cultivation of sugarcane — distributed. A considerable volume of correspondence was done and certain beginnings especially in regard to weaving of cotton — made. Contributions were made towards the vocational education, mainly industrial, of Oriya students at different centres. Letters were addressed, both in India and England, to the Governments, public bodies, heads of departments, etc.

The Hon. Mr. M. S. Das was Secretary.

SECOND SESSION.

It was held at Cuttack on the 28th and the 29th December 1904 under the presidency of the Raja of Dharakote, Sri Madan Mohan Singh Deo, while the Maharaja of Keonjhar was the Chairman. About 2,000 persons were present. Discussion took place on the following subjects : Thanking Lord Curzon for the proposal to unite the Oriya-speaking tracts under a separate administration; certain proposals regarding agricultural and industrial subjects—there was a mention of the Curzon's Fund for scholarships in Ganjam—; protesting against the language and proposals of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial education to affiliate the Conference as a District Association — payment of Rs. 3,000 annually; proposing to arrange for sale of good rice; suggesting that weaving be undertaken by weavers under the branch associations; the starting of a Girls' School at Cuttack; the commemoration of the late Chandrasekhar Singh Samant by instituting a scholarship for the B.Sc. classes and proposing a committee therefor; the consideration of the question of writing a biography of the late Padmanabh Narayan Deo; formation of a committee for the coming year with the last year's committee with more names added to it; thanking the members of the Young Utkal Association who were volunteers.

Mr. M. S. Das declared that the next year the Young Utkal Association would be considered part of the Conference.

THIRD SESSION.

This [redacted] held at Balasore on the 13th and 14th April 1906. The Raja of Talcher presided, while Raja Baikunth N. De Bahadur was the Chairman. The attendance [redacted] about 1,500. The resolutions dealt with : Giving thanks to the Government for the amalgamation of Sambalpur with Orissa and hoping that Ganjam will likewise be added; aiding agricultural efforts of the Government in the province and helping the education of farmers' sons; thanking the committee which had started the tanning factory at Cuttack; arranging for free education of weavers and training with the fly-shuttle at Cuttack and organising a fund therefor; consideration of the offer of the Government to start an Engineering School on [redacted] public subscription of Rs. 20,000 and resolution to work up the question by means of a committee and incorporating the local Victoria Memorial Fund; publication of the biography written by last year's sub-committee; the previous year's committee with powers to add to continue as the executive body.

During the following year a bulletin [redacted] issued on behalf of the Sammilani "Journal of the Utkal Sammilani" for popularising its work. The editor was Babu Nilmani Chand De B.A. and several contributors helped the endeavour. Two issues of the journal were brought out.

Babu Daltyari Prasad Das was the Secretary.

FOURTH SESSION.

It was held at Berhampur on 26 and 27-12-1906 under the presidency of the Raja of Kanika and chairmanship of the Raja of Bodokhemidi. The Sammilani tent from Balasore was used. About 2,000 were present. Kharagpur Utkal Samaj had sent an interesting essay. The subjects discussed were : Considering the appointment of missionaries and spending Rs. 100 a month thereon for propaganda; thanking the Government for concessions in the matter of Oriya education in Madras, etc.

There was a garden party given by Mr. Varada Kameswara-

rao to the delegates. Delegates from outside were in the following order : Puri 105, Cuttack 96, Balasore 6, Sambalpur 1.

The income and expenditure during the following year : Income Rs. 1,104-8 expenditure Rs. 624-4-3. Daily incomes of certain people were collected.

The fourth session was conducted by Babu Narasing Das, the Secretary.

FIFTH SESSION.

It [redacted] held at Puri on the 18th and the 19th April 1908. The Raja of Surangi presided, the chairman being the Raja of Pankud, Sri Gourchandra Mansingh Harichandan Mardaraj Bhramarbar Roy. The attendance [redacted] about 5,000. In a separate letter Babu Sribatsa Panda and the Raja of Bodakheinidi together offered Rs. 1,600 for women's education. Subjects discussed : The personnel of District and Central Committees was settled ; the draft rules were to be presented by the latter next year ; a journal of the Conference ; a number of resolutions defining work of District Committees ; urging Government to re-establish B.L. classes at Cuttack ; thanking Mr. M. S. Das for his work in England regarding Orissa ; scholarships at the Roorkee and Shibpur Engineering Colleges for Oriyas ; a committee for famine relief work for which some money was collected in the pandal. For the session, income Rs. 3,074-6-9 and expenditure Rs. 1,515-8-4½.

Babu Jagabandhu Singh was Secretary.

SIXTH SESSION.

This was held at Cuttack in December 1908. The Raja of Atagad was president. No official report has been separately published for this session.

Draft rules were adopted ; Chandrasekhar Science scholarship [redacted] sought to be made a permanent institution ; two separate funds for education and Conference work were started. Money

was sent to Mr. Sarangdhar Das, student in Japan and to Mr. Birajmohan Senapati, student of agriculture.

Income (for two years) : Rs. 1,443-5-7½
Expenditure : Rs. 317-14-6

SEVENTH SESSION.

This was held at Cuttack on the 30th and 31st December 1910. Raja Baikunthnath De Bahadur — president, the Chairman was the Raja of Madhupur. A subjects committee sat after the first day's work. Subjects discussed : Thanks to Mr. Ravenshaw for sending Rs. 1,000 for education of Oriya children; agricultural scholarship of Mr. B. Senapati be converted into Chandrasekhar scholarship.

During the following year 3 district committees were organised in Ganjam, Puri, and Cuttack who had some record of work. The cause of education received substantial support by the Conference. Income, being the previous year's balance, was Rs. 1,125-7-1½, and expenditure Rs. 492-9-6.

Babu Gokulanand Choudhury — the Secretary.

EIGHTH SESSION.

This was held at Berhampur on the 6th and 7th April 1912. President was the Raja of Surangi who belonged to the Ganjam District itself. The Jubaraj of Mandasa, Sri Sreenivas Rajmont Deo was the chairman. Certain rules of the Conference had to be modified in their application. Over 800 were present. The singing of songs by girls — a special feature. Subjects : Praying for union of Ganjam and other outlying tracts of Orissa under — administration under the same principle underlying the Bengal reunion; Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P. and Lord Curzon — thanked for having interpellated Parliament regarding Orissa union; protesting against making the Oriya Training School at Berhampur Telugu; urging the making of Oriya a subject for the Vidwan Titles Examination in Madras University; urging the establishment of a High School at Russelkonda.

The office of the Secretary of the Executive Committee was decided to be located in the place of residence of the Secretary. The Raja of Chikiti ■■■ elected ■■■ Secretary.

During the coming year he resigned his office for certain reasons.

NINTH SESSION.

It ■■■ held in Puri on ■■■ and 29-12-1913. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., was president, the chairman being Mahant Gadadhar Ramanuj Das. Ganjam alone sent 400 representatives. Subjects : encouraging the efforts of the promoters of the Satyabadi school; requesting Lord Hardinge to pay a second visit to Orissa and make himself acquainted with the results of Government neglect; the amalgamation of Oriya tracts; Engineering School; court language in Singhbhum and other outlying tracts; urging the starting of M.A., and B.L., classes at Cuttack; Income for the ■■■ Rs. 1,108-1-7½, expenditure Rs. 530-2-6. Collections for the Satyabadi School during session and afterwards, Rs. 6,252, and from some rajas Rs. 2,240.

Babu Jagabandhu Singh ■■■ Secretary.

TENTH SESSION.

It was held at Parlakimedi ■■■ 26 and 27-12-1914. The attendance was over 5000,—2000 alone hailing from outside. Sri Vikram Deo Varma of Vizagpatam was president, the chairman was Mahant Sri Radhakrishna Das Goswami.

The arrangements made for this session were very elaborate. The Raja saheb of Parlakimedi spent Rs. 10,000 on the session, besides arranging for special trains and keeping open his press to print Conference literature free of charge. Subjects : Wishing British success in War; sending medical officer with pay of Rs. 300 per month (Mr. Rammurti Patnaik volunteered his services); urging bringing together of Oriyas under Bihar & Orissa and Madras administrations in ■■■ province; urging declaration of Oriya as court language in Singhbhum, Jeypore, Phuljhar,

Chandrapur-Padampur areas, and the provision of educational facilities for them; demanding a separate University for the sake of the Oriya-speaking people, or at least any one University; extensive employment of Oriya teachers and Oriya Inspecting Officers, in educational interests; proposal to open a railway line from Khurda to Sambalpur; proposal to make Jeypore Agency a separate district.

Babu Nityanand Patnaik was the Secretary for the Reception Committee as also of the Executive Committee the following year.

ELEVENTH SESSION.

This session was held at Sambalpur on 27 and 28-12-1915. The President was Sri Lakshminarayan Singh Deo, Raja of Kera in Singhbhum. The chairman was Babu Balunkeswar Misra, B.L. Subjects: Khurda-Sambalpur Railway; separate University for all Oriya tracts, — temporarily similar facilities to all tracts re. university education; declaration of Oriya — court language in Singhbhum, Phuljhar, Chandrapur-Padampur and creating facilities for Oriya education in these areas; urging the taking in of an Oriya representative in the Imperial Council; the establishment of an Engineering School; starting of B.L., classes; etc.

TWELFTH SESSION.

This was held at Balasore on 29 and 30-12-1916. The President was the Raja of Mandasa, the chairman being Babu Radhagovind Das.

Certain important letters from 17 Oriyas in C.P., Behar Students Conference, and on the question of affiliation of the Garjats were read. Subjects: To constitute Jeypore — a district; to revive salt industry; Engineering School; to amalgamate Madras and Bengal Oriya tracts with Orissa under — independent administration—appointment of — influential committee of seven to adopt vigorous — for the following year; —

Oriya member in the Imperial Council; Dissatisfaction with the unamended Patna University Bill, wishing for separate university or at least to continue under the Calcutta University; court language and education in the Singhbhum and C. P. Oriya tracts; Vizagpatnam karans to be recognised — Oriya. Income for the session was Rs. 2,434-2-3, expenditure Rs. 2,081-7-0.

THIRTEENTH SESSION.

This session was held at Cuttack on 30 and 31-3-1917 under the presidency of Saraswati Sri Phakeer Mohan Senapati. The chairman was the Hon'ble Raja of Kanika, the Secretary of the Reception Committee being the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das. Subjects: A Council of the Conference was constituted, and the Raja of Kanika and Mr. Das were elected president and secretary; revival of salt industry, suggesting 2 members in the Imperial Council for the Oriyas, and one member in the Provincial Executive Council, constitution of a committee for collecting funds for repairs of Puri and other temples; urging the making of Oriya the court language in Singhbhum and the C P. Oriya tracts; *The Oriya* declared the organ of the Conference.

The Domiciled Bengalee Association consisting of those who were "in every sense indigenous to the province" was incorporated, in this session. A band of 52 National Service volunteers were taken in, a letter from the Bhubaneswar Temple Committee which said that the repairs of the temple required 2 lakhs of rupees was read. The Raja of Atagarh offered Rs. 10,000 for — weaving industry in the province.

Income for the session — Rs. 2,549-10-0, expenditure Rs. 3,790-1-0. A "national fund" — collected, and it amounted to Rs. 257-4-0.

SPECIAL SESSION.

This session was specially convened in order to consider the situation arising out of the publication of the M. C. Report. It was held on 21 and 22-9-1918 at Cuttack, and the Hon'ble Mr.

M. S. Das was the president. The convener was the Secretary of the Conference the Hon'ble Mr. Brajasundar Das. Two resolutions regarding Orissa and her future constitution were passed (see Pp. 50-51), urging the linguistic union prior to the Reforms.

FOURTEENTH SESSION.

This was held on 19 and 20-4-1919 at Cuttack under the presidency of the Hon'ble Gopabandhu Das; the Chairman was Sreejut Jagatballabh Ghose of the Domiciled Bengalee community. The attendance was as usual very large. Resolutions relating to amalgamation of the Oriya tracts in a single province, declaration of Oriya as court language in the outlying tracts etc., were passed. The Oriya was handed over to the Cuttack Printing Co. The most important piece of work which was done, was the passing of a constitution of the Conference. About Rs. 1,300 were collected in the pandal towards the Mesopotamia Medical Relief Fund, and a few thousands were promised in addition.

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N.B.—The references ~~are~~ to pages, and do not extend to the Appendices.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Aboriginal tribes, 144.
Agriculture, 263.
Almanacs, 120
Aluf Khan, 91.
Ampthill, Lord, 35, 37.
Anang Bhim Deo, 156, 174.
Andhra Movement, 14, 16, 149.
<i>Anka</i>, 120.
Architecture, as a subject of study, 229.
Aska Sugar Factory, 265.
Asoka, 83.
Assam, 169.
Atagada zamindary, 8.
Baikunthnath De, 22, 27.
Bailey, Sir Charles, 45.
Barga Bhima, temple of, 158.
Beadon, Sir C., 21.
Beames, John, 95, 105.
Bengal Chamber of Commerce, 32.</p> | <p>Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, 32.
Bengal reunion, 40.
Bengal Tenancy Act, 128.
Berhampur, college at, 223.
Berumal Pass, 69.
<i>Bhagwat</i>, 108, 162.
Bhatri, 89, 111.
Bhuiyas, 76, 85.
Bidyadhar tank, 158.
Behar & Orissa, new province of, 40, 175.
Bijaynagar, 92.
Bir Kinhar Deo, 89.
Black Pagoda, 156, 174.
Boat-building, 259.
Brown's evidence re Ganjam, 8.
Calcutta High Court, 234, 237-38.
Calcutta Gazette Supplement d/23-10-1895, 22.</p> |
|---|--|

- | | |
|--|---|
| Calcutta University re
Oriya language, 26. | Cotton, General Sir
Arthur, 247. |
| Calcutta University Com-
mission, 213. | Council of Princes 209-
210. |
| Campbell Commission,
244. | Crewe, Marquis of, 215. |
| Canals, 249. | Cudappa, 91. |
| Carnata, 67. | Curtis, 101. |
| Census operations, 119,
165. | Curzon, estimate of ■
new province, 188. |
| Central National Muham-
madan Association, 32. | Curzon's proposal to re-
distribute territories, 28. |
| Chaitanya, 161. | Cuttack, 139, 217, 239. |
| Chakravarti, M. M., 161. | Damodar R., 255. |
| Chandbali, 259. | Dandakaranya, 66. |
| <i>Chanpat</i> fibre, 260. | Deficit, due to adminis-
trative charges, 189. |
| Chicacole, 70, 92.
—revenue
taluk of, 31, 167. | Dhalbhumi, 71, 76, 85,
108. |
| Chief Courts, 232. | Dialect of Oriya, 95. |
| Chiefs' College, 224. | Diamond-mining, 255. |
| Chilka Lake, 69, 257.
—as ■ harbour, 270. | Diffusions-process of
Sugar manufacture,
265. |
| Circuit Courts, 234. | Directors Conference,
213. |
| Commissioner of Orissa
■ High Court, 195. | Dress, 116. |
| Congress Resolution of
1903, 30. | Eastern Bengal & Assam,
province of, 188. |
| Contai, 71, 107. | |

- | | |
|---|---|
| Embanked escape channels, 249. | Gopal Krushna Patnaik, 104. |
| Embankments, 246. | Gorumahishani, 253. |
| Engineering School, 132. | Grierson, Mr. 70, 107. |
| Estates sold by auction, 7. | Ghumsur, 105. |
| Executive Council, 170, 176. | Gurukula University, 213. |
| Feudatory States, 191-211. | Halbi, 89, 111. |
| Financial Commissioner, 171, 177-8. | Hammick, Sir Murray, 237. |
| Forest engineers, 262. | Hardinge, Lord, 14, 40-44, 271. |
| Franchise Committee, 55. | Hardinge Despatch, 40. |
| Ganga Vamsa or Gangangetic Dynasty, 67. | Harihar Panda, 11. |
| Ganguly, M.M., 160. | High Schools, 219. |
| Ganjam National Conference, 24. | Hindu University, 226. |
| Gaud, 67. | Hingeli or Hijili, 84, 145. |
| Gaudas and Dravidas, 100. | Hirakud, 256. |
| Gautama Buddha, 66. | Ho's, 85, 109. |
| G. O's as dead letters, 137. | Haldi, 71. |
| Goalas, 130. | Hunter, 70, 122, 245, 247. |
| Gondwana, 70. | Ibbetson, (Sir Denzil) reply re Calcutta High Court, 237. |
| | Indian University Act 1904, 214. |
| | <i>Indische Alterthumsschinde</i> , 70. |

Intermediary ruling races, 3, 136.	Konarka Kshetra, 157.
Iyengar, Mr. K. V. R., 151.	Kolhan, 85.
Jagannath (Puri) —edifice of 174. —its pan-Indian influence, 154.	Kondavidu, 67.
Java sugar, 264.	Koraput, 80.
Jellasore Sirkar, 84.	Krishnaswami Iyer, V., 31.
Jewel factory at Cuttack, 261.	Kshetras acc. Kapila Samhita, 155.
Jharkhand, 85.	Kuruppam, 93.
Jobra Govt. Iron Works, 252.	Kutteb Shahis, 69, 92.
Judicial Commissioner's Court, 235.	Labour migration, 122.
Kaivartas, 119.	Laria, 111.
Kalinga, 66—67, 83, 90.	Law Classes, 132, 225.
Kanker, 89.	Lieutenant Governorship, 169.
Kapileswar Deo, 158.	L. T. Classes, 224-5.
Karkatch salt, 256.	
Kesari Vamsa or Soma Vamsa, 83, 91, 156.	Macco Callinga, 66.
Khandmals, 144.	Mahasamund Tahsil, 77.
Kharavela, 83.	Mahendra Mountain, 141.
Khetkar, Mr. S. V., 101, 148, 214.	Mahrattas, 84, 243.
	Mahratta Government, 5.
	Mativamsa Naiks, 104.
	Matriculation, 219.
	Matsya Purana, 66.
	Matula kanya, 115.
	Memory, lamp of; 160.
	Mitra, R.L., 70, 159.

- Mohammed Tachi Khan, 69.
- Mohirry zamindary, how sold, 8.
- Montagu, re amalgamation, 43.
—his speech during the Mesopotamian debate, 45.
- M. S. Das, 11, 27, 39, 261.
- Mukherji, Sir Asutosh, 213.
- Mukund Harichandan, 158.
- Mysore University, 216.
- Nagavali, 146.
- Nandapur Raj family, 93.
- Narasinha Das, 11.
- Narasinha Deo, Raja, 156.
- Nazarāna*, 195.
- Northcote Sir Stafford, 21, 244.
- O' Malley, 244.
- Oriss~~s~~ Association, 27.
- Orissa Council of Princes, 209.
- Orissa Famine, 21, 122, 243-44.
- Orissa Fisheries, 257-59.
- Orissan architecture
—unity of, 160.
—purity of, 160.
—its type, 155, 160.
- Oriyas, as a non-agitating people, 42.
- Oriya, The* 47.
- Panchkosi*, 156.
- Pataspur, 69, 84, 126.
- Patkum, 67.
- Patna High Court, 234.
- Patna University Bill, 214, 271.
- Partition of Bengal, 28, 150.
- Penal areas, 137.
- Permanent Settlement, 125-27.
- Pieshcush, 126.
- Political Agent, 195, 209.
- Ponga Salt, 256.
- Porahat, 86.
- Poroja, 106.
- Prajabandhu, The*, 35.
- Promise of equal atten-

- | | |
|---|--|
| tion to Orissa as to
Behar, 42, 45. | Ruskin, types of archi-
tecture, 155. |
| — to provide a sea-board,
44, 124, 271. | Salempores, of Ganjam,
266. |
| Provincial contributions,
187. | Sambalpur Garjats, 88,
193. |
| Provincial loans, 187. | <i>Sangya</i> , 118. |
| Public Services, 175. | Sarma, Mr. B. N., 48,
151, 218. |
| Public Works of the
Hindu monarchs, 174. | School Final Examina-
tion, 219. |
| Radha dewl, 69. | Scott, Mac Callum, 42. |
| Raghavarao G., 31. | Ship-building, 269-73. |
| Rajamundry, 68, 92. | Shuja Uddin Mohammed
Khan, 69. |
| Ravenshaw College, ad-
mission into, 222. | Sihawa, 89, 159. |
| Reforms Report, 41, 48,
150, 152, 170, 180-190,
209, 210. | Simhachal, 158. |
| Report on the proposed
University at Indore,
229. | Singbhumi copper de-
posits, 254-55. |
| Resolution of 1913, 215. | Sirguja Garjats, 193. |
| Revenue Board, 177-178. | Sirpur temple, 89, 159. |
| Revenue-heads, 187. | South West Frontier Pro-
vince, 89. |
| Risley, H. H., 29, 95. | States, their political
future, 208-11. |
| Royal Commission on
Decentralisation, 39. | Sterling, 66, 68, 69, 156,
257. |
| Rupnarayan, R., 70. | Subah of Orissa, 83, 92. |
| Rushikulya, R., 65. | Subarnarekha, 68, 146. |

- Sujan Rai, 88.
- Takoli, 184.
- Tamluk, 66, 270.
- Tata Iron & Steel Co., 252, 253.
- Tekkali Raghunathpur, 69.
- Telingana, 67.
- Training College, 124-25.
- Tribeni, 67, 158.
- Tributary mahals, 192.
- Udayagiri village, 158.
- Universities
—affiliating, 212.
—examining, 229.
—local, 215, 217.
—residential, 215.
—teaching, 215.
- Universities Commission, 214.
- University, cost of, 230-231.
„ Act of 1904, 214.
- Upendra Bhanj, 104.
- Utkal Hitaishini Samaj
Parlakimedi, 56.
- Utkal Tannery, 259.
- Utkal Union Committee, 46.
- Utkal Union Conference
—re cotton weaving 267.
—special session, 50.
- Vaishnavism, 114, 161.
- Valentyn's Memoir, 84.
- Vansadhara, 146.
- Vested interests, 4-5.
- Vizagpatam district, 143.
- White Pagoda, 156.
- Women's University, 214.
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ERRATA.

In page 14, line 24 *for them* *read then*

- " 15 " 14 " contentions *read contentious*
 - " 56 " 24 delete from the electorate and 2 zamindar
 - " 107 " 1 for Vol. I *read Vol. V*
 - " 133 " 24 " have *read has*
 - " 259 " 21 " banch *read branch*
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